NEW TIMES

March 1992

A British lord's concerns

10

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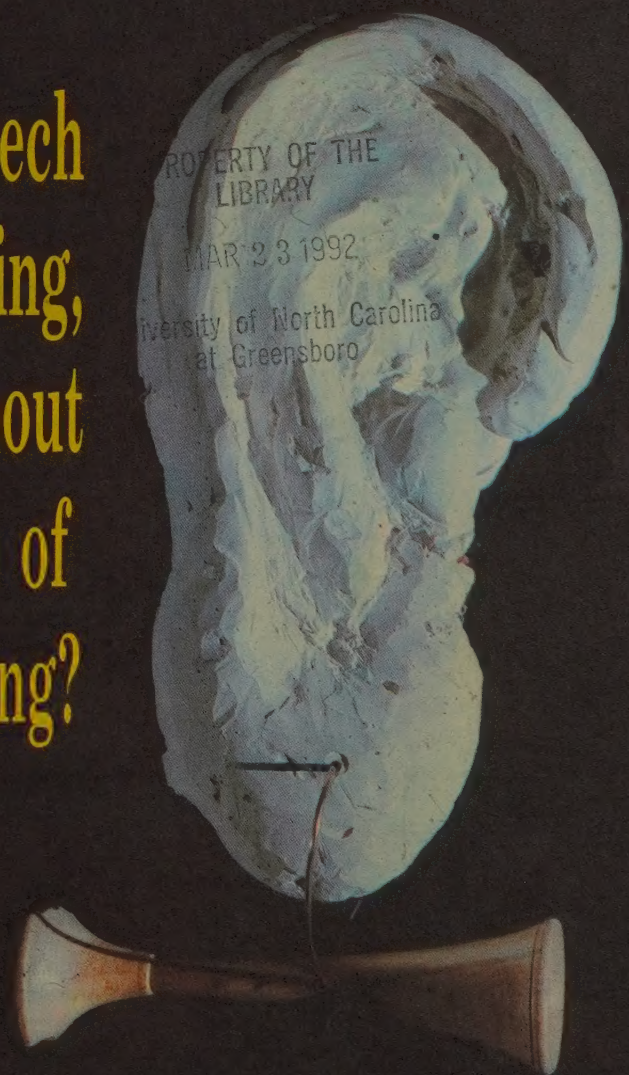

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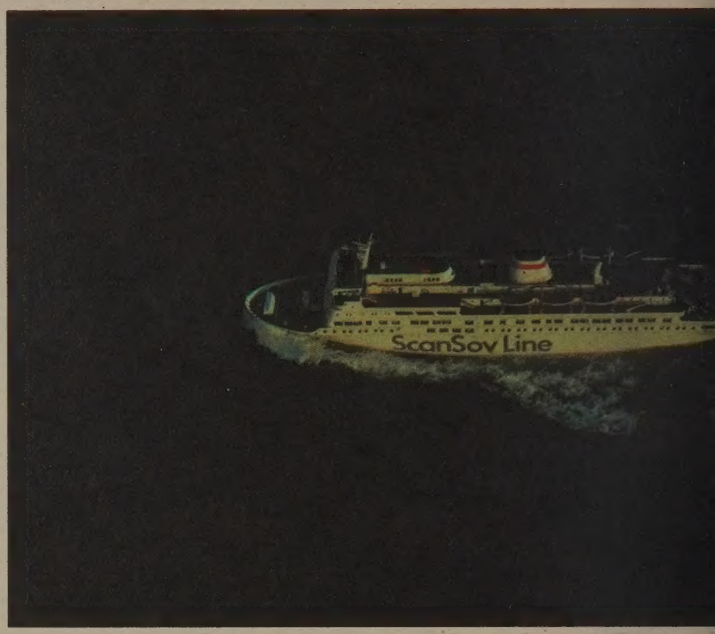

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Nüneshamn	dep. Sunday	19.30
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A RUSSIAN WEEKLY

NEW TIMES

No. 10, 1992
Founded 1945

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Cover by Victor Brel

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Editor-in-Chief
Alexander PUMPYANSKY

Associate editors:
Lev BEZYMENSKY
Vitaly GANYUSHKIN
Sergei GOLYAKOV
Vitaly IGNATENKO
Leonid MLECHIN
Pavel SAMARCHYAN
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Editor-in-Chief
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Victor KAMOTSKY

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Founders:

New Times journalists

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From our mailbag

To the Deby government

and to the attention of the people of Chad

In light of the recent events in our country, we a group of residents of southern Chad staying in the Commonwealth of the Independent States (formerly the USSR), are deeply concerned about and express our indignation with:

1) the massacre of our southern Chad brothers in Ardepdjoumal (Ndjamena),
2) the kidnapping, imprisonment and physical destruction of a number of southern Chadians,
3) the disgraceful assassination of journalist Maxim Kladoumbaye,
4) the shameful assassination of Dr Behidi, the Vice-President of the Human Rights League of Chad, in Ndjamena on the night of Saturday, February 15 of this year.

In view of this dramatic situation, we confirm our active solidarity with and out moral support for the entire southern Chad community. We resolutely condemn the system of terror with its concomitant criminal criterion for social promotion adhered to by the Deby government.

We call upon our southern Chad brothers to launch a campaign of civil disobedience to last till the restoration of security and observance of human rights as the supreme values of any human being in a law-governed state. We declare ourselves ready to render all available support to our brothers in all their actions, present or future.

To conclude, we demand:

– The immediate arrest of the organizers and the accomplices in the above-mentioned hideous crimes.

– The immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Chad of Sudanese assassins and mercenaries at the service of Deby.

– Discontinuation of the systematic genocide against southern Chadians.

Compiled in Moscow
February 18, 1992
Southern Chad activists

Kuril islands must not be returned, and there is no need to

■ Any territorial changes and the material expenditure connected with them would be a heavy burden for the country's weak economy. It is also necessary to take into account the socio-psychological harm done to thousands of people who, against their will, fall into the category of displaced persons. Let me recall how painfully and sensitively the broad Russian public reacts to attempts to infringe on the rights of Russians living in the Baltic states and Moldova. One can also imagine public reaction to the forced resettlement of thousands of Russian citizens from the disputed territories. It will be a grave blow to the internal and external political prestige of the central authorities of Russia. It will increase socio-political tension and is likely to lead to a deep political split among the Russian population.

What is the importance of the South Kuril islands for Russia?

Geopolitically, these islands, just as the entire Kuril chain, ensure for Russia a free outlet from its main Far Eastern ports to the ocean. As regards seas the geographical position of Russia is extremely unfavourable: a minimum of non-freezing, not to speak of open ocean ports, and a minimum of simply convenient bays and harbours.

Today, neither Japan nor the American troops stationed on its islands represent a real military threat to Russia. That is why Soviet military presence on the South Kuril islands loses its importance. This does not mean that their military role is zero. In any case, the need for the fleet, and the naval fleet itself, remain and the frontier troops shall be preserved. The loss of these territories will make it necessary to find an adequate replacement for the military bases, sea moorings and installations which are to be closed, and this will require additional allocations.

The loss of the South Kuril islands will also mean the loss of our greatest value – economic space, the territory and a vast sea zone extremely important for the present and future Russia.

The biggest danger lies in the transfer of these islands creating a legal precedent. Let me recall that in the postwar years practically no country voluntarily ceded its territory to another country. Territorial changes of every kind took place in the Third World or in the case of colonies or dependent territories.

The territorial dispute and differences between Russia and Japan have a political rather than legal character.

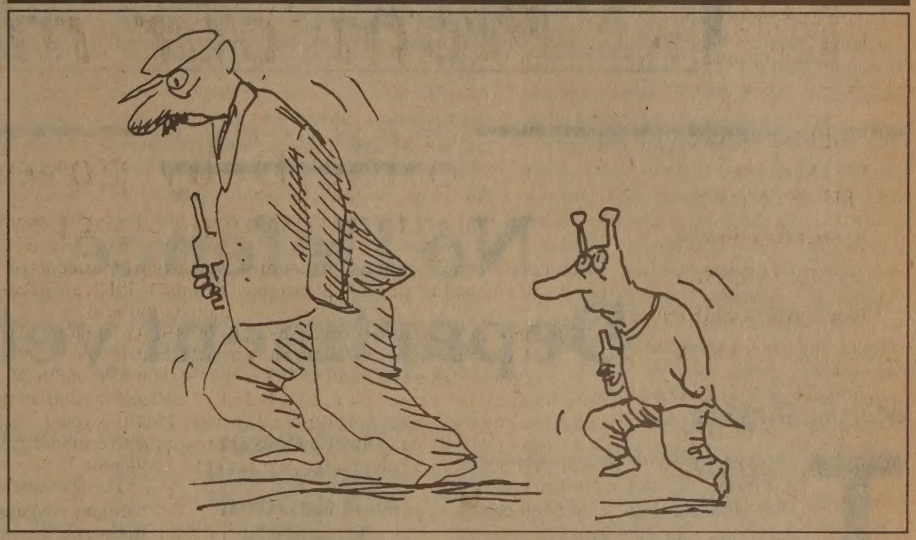
At their talks in 1944, Stalin and US Ambassador Harriman discussed terms for the Soviet Union's entry into the war against Japan. An agreement reached between them was approved at Yalta on February 11, 1945, by the leaders of Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States. The Kuril islands were transferred to the Soviet Union.

In the document prepared for Roosevelt its authors

■ Please, publish our appeal. It will be a good deed on your part.

Our village Orthodox church is tumbling down. We need nearly a million rubles for repair. We, ordinary believers, do not have such a sum needed for restoration. Please, help us if you can. Our address: 623600, Yekaterinburg Region, Talitsa, Talkombank, code 253437, account No. 000701502.

Believers of the parish of the Church of the Vladimirskaya Icon of Our Lady



Drawing by Victor Bogorad

■ Your reader S. Boyarov alleges that the Intermovement in the Baltic states "expressed on the whole the discontent of those who moved to these states with the processes of national revival" (*NT*, No. 52/91). Let me say that the processes of national revival have been supported by cultured people of various nationalities who moved to the Baltic states in different epochs. For instance, the Baltian-Slav Society for Cultural Development and Cooperation was formed in Latvia before interfronts of various kinds appeared.

It is wrong to cast aspersions on all who came to live in the Baltic states. It is alleged that "they did not understand and then did not want to understand that they lived in a different country." I know Old Believers whose ancestors settled in Latvia in the times before Peter I took the throne. They understood, and their descendants understand where they live. They distinguish the 20th-century "brown plague" which pretends to express "the truly national Lettish spirit" and insults the Old Believers, from the rest of the people. The centuries-old ties between the Letts and Russians do not give grounds for the idea of national superiority. It goes against the grain with the neo-nazis. That is why they invented discrimination on the principle of ethnic origin. However, we distinguish these neo-racists from all other Letts.

Vladislav Danilov
Riga, Latvia

■ Khrushchev was right in promising communism. If everyone had worked as people worked during the first communist *subbotniks* (labour freely given to the state on days-off) communism would have been built by all means. Khrushchev promised communism. But fighting for power regardless of communist principles, he thereby did everything so that communism would not be built. Trotsky strove for communism for real. The world revolution is not an utopia either. Had we built communism it would have occurred.

I know that my letter will not inspire anyone. Over the last 70 years the Communists have done so many horrible things that the fear of communism will be experienced by mankind for a long time. But I believe that sooner or later real communism will triumph.

Veniamin Mochalov, 32, Communist Party member,
Mari Autonomous Republic

***Compiled by* T. Chernova**

entioned the united Kuril archipelago. However, they d not recommend the President to transfer to the viet Union the southern part of the islands. osevelt ignored the recommendations of his dipmats and agreed with the Soviet proposals.

The United States recognized de facto the Soviet ion's possession of all Kuril islands in 1945 and 46, when it began occupation of the main part of the panese territory. On Washington's instructions the merican occupation administration then defined the oper territory of Japan. As the power administering pan at that time, the United States made no protest to e Soviet Union over the "unlawful" occupation of all any part of the Kuril islands.

The question of Japan's territorial claims to the viet Union began to be actively discussed in the US lministration as relations between the two countries ew worse. The islands became a sort of bargaining int, an element in the policy of pressure. When a ace treaty with Japan was drafted, John Foster Dulles t the following condition: the text of the treaty will inude a provision on Japan's renunciation of the Kuril ands and South Sakhalin in favour of the USSR only it is signed by the Soviet delegate.

The Soviet Union did not sign the Treaty of San Franco, which was certainly a short-sighted step. The eaty mentions Japan's renunciation of the Kuril islands, though it does not say in whose favour.

Later, during the Soviet-Japanese negotiations on the normalization of bilateral relations, John Foster Dulles made an ultimatum to the Japanese government. The United States demanded that Tokyo lay territorial claims to the Soviet Union. Otherwise, Washington will not return the Ryukyu islands then held under American control.

What should be done in the present situation?

I think it is necessary now to refrain from any settlement of the territorial problem with Japan, set a sort of moratorium on the legal settlement of similar problems. No one can doubt that Japan's claims to part of the Kuril islands are grounded. But a change in the objective historical reality will lead to serious adverse consequences: economic, political, military, moral and psychological.

I would add that consequences can be unfavourable for Japan too. The anti-Japanese feeling, the feeling of "revanche" and "wounded national dignity" can arise and acquire considerable political influence in Russia's public opinion. And this is likely to worsen bilateral relations.

Igor Lavrenkov,
Cand.Sc. (History)
Kemerovo

THE ARMY

No Defence Department yet!

Marina Shakina

Talk concerned with the appointment of a Russian defence minister, coupled with discussions of the related candidates, has coincided with a drastic deterioration in Karabakh. Which would not appear fortuitous, insofar as the interests of the former USSR republics are so closely and fancifully interwoven that it is enough at times for a halloo at one end of CIS to be echoed heaven knows where.

Keeping up with the others

The Minsk-2 summit, which plainly indicated that a common armed force is no more, only whipped up developments. The erstwhile Soviet army is now seen in Azerbaijan as completely alien. President Yeltsin's incisive remark that Russia would be last to set up her own army still lingers. Aren't we today reaping the fruit of ambiguity, in a situation when a spade is not called a spade?

The republics are disavowing the former Soviet army with the "tactful" monicker of "an occupation force," although really meant is "the Russian army."

Meanwhile Russia is putting off the formation of an armed force as it feels the former Soviet army is really Russian – which is what Gennady Burbulis characteristically intimated in his February 23 TV interview. Hence isn't it time to terminate all heart-wrenching talk about an integrated CIS armed force? After all it has no master now. Hence with its men killed and disarmed today and its arms depots looted by mysterious gunmen, there seems nowhere to appeal or present demands to. Indeed, we really cannot address such matters to Azerbaijan, which as a full-fledged CIS member would appear to be in joint control of this self-same armed force.

Another factor amplifying the ambiguity is that of a suitable candidate for the office of a Russian defence minister. The related information is confusing which certainly does not make for a healthy public mood, inasmuch as this office is no joke. Indeed, it is politically crucial. Though a minister of culture may be designated on the sly as was so recently done, it is absolutely desirable for everyone, let alone Parliament, to know who may aspire to this office.

The Yeltsin team has still not defined Russia's national interests as is shown by Moscow's hazy stance over the Armenian-Azerbaijanian conflict

The relevant list of candidates is noteworthy, as it contains civilians, which is highly unusual. Thus far there are two, to wit Galina Starovoitova, the Presidential adviser on inter-ethnic relations, and Andrei Kokoshin, Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Inasmuch as we know that our government adores keeping up with others implying the West, we may have a Russian Cheney, who need not necessarily be one of the two mentioned as some believe there is a dark horse in the running.

Yet, if we seek to keep up with the West, then Galina Starovoitova's candidacy would appear most appropriate. Take, for instance, Finland whose Defence Minister is lady, or the U.K. where another lady was recently made secret service chief.

Whose army is pulling out of the Baltics?

Nevertheless, considering our specific features, we will be obliged to admit that clever, intellectual, competent Galina Starovoitova, who has a big edge over any representative of the other sex, enjoys in Azerbaijan and not only there the reputation of a partisan of the Armenian lobby. Indeed of late Russia's relations with Azerbaijan have certainly not been conspicuous for their confidence. Aware of the incredible rumours bruited about in Baku as to how Moscow developments are interpreted, we may presume that all the talk about Starovoitova's likely appointment has not tended to shore up confidence in Russia. Though the coincidental Moscow get-together of representatives of the two republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia did generate some hope, still the situation in Karabakh has gone from bad to worse.

The Giulistan Treaty

Whenever the issue of Starovoitova's likely appointment is raised, the government vexedly responds that this is nothing but idle speculation. Indeed, at her news conference Galina Starovoitova, though viewing the matter quite seriously, said out of modesty that she did not believe she had much of a chance, however, adding that quite a number of high-ranking army officers were plumping for her.

Our military's surprise affection for civilians is definitely worthy of note. Thus Andrei Kokoshin's candidacy is also backed. He is already besieged by generals putting to him various programmes, projects and requests. Unlike Galina Starovoitova, an ethnographer and psychologist by profession, he is a political scientist, an expert on the strategic equilibrium, whose initial profession had been American studies. Dedicated to Soviet-American relationships in military policy, he would scarcely have domestic policies at his fingertips; on the other hand, he is apparently familiar with the military-industrial complex and with generals, and understands weaponry as having originally been a radionics engineer. He is also conversant with the army's problems while his political orientation is apparently based on a democratic rationale. At any rate note that he was among the White House defenders during those three days in August.

Photo by Yuri Gripas

Both Starovoitova and Kokoshin concur in that the Number One problem in our military policy today lies in the Transcaucasus where the issue is one of Russia's actual national interests and of whether they really go beyond the Caucasian range which both incline to think so.

As I see it, the ambiguity over the army's current status in the Transcaucasus obstructs a correct assessment of Russia's policy vis-à-vis this area. Moscow is still unable to understand whose interests, that is of Russia or of the CIS generally, she should adopt as regards the Transcaucasus. Indeed, the latest bloodbaths indicate that a definite stand has to be taken. However, the attitude of either the former USSR or of Russia today has never been fully clarified, which naturally has only served to aggravate the conflict. In this respect the current stance, which again is not fully defined, is that, firstly, Azerbaijan is an independent state, that, secondly, Karabakh is part of Azerbaijan, and, thirdly, that there is no ground for interference. As a result, everything is reduced to mediation, that plainly does not suit the books of Karabakh, which constantly refers to the 1813 Giulistan Treaty under which Karabakh comprised a Russian protectorate.

Too much haggling

The early withdrawal of troops from the Transcaucasus represents a logical sequel to this Russian stance. Bombardment of internal troops' barracks is a signal that the other side has given, inferring that it is time to get out. In short, a troop pullout is on the agenda and Russia will again have to decide, whether we are morally entitled to desert Karabakh, whether we are prepared to shoulder the responsibility for Karabakh as heirs to the former Russian empire and former USSR. In this respect allusions to the Giulistan Treaty are scarcely appropriate for even the simple reason that under it Russia took under her wing some ten khanates or so which are no longer existent. In short, Karabakh today is not the Karabakh khanate of 1813 and current historical realities are totally different. Still, its historical gravitation towards Russia will necessarily have to be taken into account.

One more tangled issue is what to do with the deployed weaponry. According to some sources, army leaders have agreed with Baku to have all arms depots and weaponry gradually transferred to Azerbaijan's emerging national army. But will the weaponry currently stationed in Karabakh be handed over to the local authorites? The Grad (Hail) installation example should have taught our army chiefs a lesson. Indeed, they themselves gave the Azerbaijanis these installations, which were at once targeted against the peaceful population and these self-same internal troops.

Should Soviet armaments be mechanically divvied up? The entire world advocates not selling arms to aggressive regimes violating human rights or to unpredictable rulers. Though President Mutalibov is a hard-bitten politician, evidently he is not in full control, if Grad installations are employed. As for human rights violations in Azerbaijan and more specifically in Karabakh, they have come to the ears of the entire world, with the related facts confirmed by highly reputable European human rights advocates. It is high time for our Foreign Minister to seriously take the matter in hand, conduct foreign-policy assessment and draft a pattern for future relationships with independent Azerbaijan soon to have its own independent army. With Turkey and Iran stepping up activities in the area, is it really worthwhile relinquishing influence in the Transcaucasus? There is food for thought here for Russia's future defence minister. After all, Azerbaijan, which seems to be flooded with weaponry and appears to have no particular qualms about deploying mass destruction armaments, menaces not only its own people, but also Russia, its neighbours and the entire world community for that matter.

It seems to me that after hearing about the use of the Grad mortar in Karabakh, the world is concerned as to what might befall nuclear arms in the former USSR. After all, there is nothing to guarantee that in our flashpoints, what with the chaotic haggling rife amidst our troops, we shall not suddenly be faced with the firing of a tactical nuclear warhead.

The deteriorating situation in Karabakh also demonstrates the absence of an ever-ready CIS negotiating and advisory machinery in the domain of military affairs, which let me add, is a carry over from the past. We have a foreign minister. A defence minister is definitely required.

Generals not to blame

Achalov, Kalinin, Makashov, Tretiak, Gromov, Grachev – the Russian Procurator's Offices about their role during the putsch

Having wound up the State Emergency Committee (SEC) inquiry, the Russian Procurator's Offices presented the related testimony to Parliament. Describing the putsch, the procurator named many generals. However, only two, notably Marshal Yazov and General Varennikov, are currently in prison. Marshal Akhromeyev committed suicide.

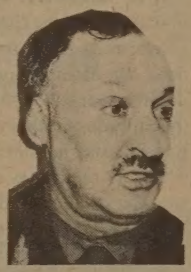
What role did other top brass play during the putsch? What are they doing today?

General **Vladislav Achalov,** Deputy Defence Minister, who previously commanded paratroops and who is a Russian Federation MP, attended a conference of future SEC members last August 17, when the decision was taken to seize power. He spent the night of August 18 with Yazov at the Kremlin in Premier Pavlov's room, where the coup plotters had assembled. The whole of August 20 was spent preparing for an assault on the Russian Federation White House.

However, Parliament repudiated the demand by the Russian Federation Procurator's Offices to arraign Achalov. Hence, with fellow MPs he will be shaping the new Russia.

General **Nikolai Kalinin,** the commanding officer of the Moscow military district, was directly involved in carrying out, in Moscow, the orders the putschists had issued. On August 19 he ordered the two Taman and Kantemirov Divisions into Moscow. Yanayev appointed him Moscow's commandant. At the KGB's request, he signed warrants with empty spaces for future names. He appeared on the *Vremya* TV newscast twice, his frowning face thus coming to symbolize the new Ordnung.

After the putsch fiasco, he resigned as commanding officer of the Moscow military district. Though appointed recently chief of the Armour Academy, he has thus far not taken up his duties. Note that after the Tbilisi blood bath in April 1989, General Rodionov, the commanding officer of the Transcaucasian military district, was brought to Moscow and likewise appointed chief of the General Staff Academy. Apparently such experience is believed noteworthy for young officers.



General **Albert Makashov,** commanding officer of the Volga-Urals military district, a USSR MP and the ill-starred Russian Federation presidential candidate, enthusiastically acclaimed the news of the SEC's creation.

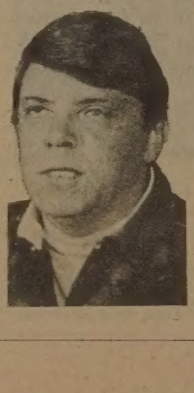
Notified by Marshal Yazov of the promulgation of the state of emergency, he tried to mute seditious radio broadcasting within his military district, and muzzle "hostile" TV programmes, and further ordered subordinate officers to start patrolling cities and towns. Newspapers have featured the coded cable he dispatched to the Kremlin on August 20, which ran: "The Military Council and troops of the district are perturbed by the indecisive attitude towards Yeltsin and his entourage. Delay is fatal. We believe it is advisable to promulgate a state of emergency in Samara and Sverdlovsk."

What has he been doing after the abortive putsch? Some time ago he was relieved of his duties as district commanding general, and now we see his three-star epaulets at Moscow rallies. National socialists see him as the future premier of a "patriotic government."

General **Ivan Tretiak,** Deputy Defence Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Anti-Aircraft Defence Troops, aided the SEC as follows: on August 19 to isolate President Gorbachev he closed down the Bilbek airfield in the Crimea and ordered out trucks to block the landing strip. He has currently been retired.

Quite recently newspapers featured the coded cable that General **Boris Pyankov,** commanding officer of the Siberian military district, sent the SEC on the night of August 19, which ran: "The local military Council is puzzled by the inefficient action against the Russian republic leaders who continue to hoodwink the people, urging them not to obey SEC decisions. The majority of the working people call for decisive action in which the Military Council supports them."

After the putsch collapsed, General Pyankov was appointed a Deputy Defence Minister. Now he is Deputy Supreme Commander of CIS armed forces.



A highly controversial role in the August events was played by General **Boris Gromov,** the Afghan war hero, who in late 1989 was unexpectedly appointed to the Internal Affairs Ministry as first Deputy to future SEC member Boris Pugo.

Testifying before Parliament the Russian procurator said that on August 18, along with the commanding officers of Kiev and other military districts, he received instructions from General Varennikov at the Bilbek airfield and was told that the newly-formed SEC had promulgated a state of emergency. On August 20, with Generals Varennikov, Achalov and Grachev, he attended a conference to discuss coordination of army, KGB and internal troops units for a planned assault against the Russian Federation White House and for the apprehension of President Yeltsin and other Russian Federation leaders. However, he declined to attack the Russian Federation White House.

After the putsch he was relieved of his duties at the Internal Affairs Ministry. He was recently appointed First Deputy Commander of Ground Forces.

A curious part was played by General **Pavel Grachev,** the commanding officer of paratroops units, who right after the abortive putsch was named by Marshal Shaposhnikov as the chief hero of resistance. The Procurator's Offices have outlined his role as follows.

At the start of August, in cooperation with other Defence Ministry officials and KGB colleagues, he was instructed by Marshal Yazov to explore the likely consequences of the promulgation of a state of emergency. In the early morning of August 19 General Achalov ordered him by telephone to alert the Kursk paratroops division and move on Moscow. Subsequently Achalov commanded him to place under guard the State Bank, the State Reserves, and the Radio and TV offices. Marshal Yazov instructed him to prepare a detention camp. By coded cable he put nationwide subordinated troops on full alert. However, he declined to take part in an assault on the Russian Federation White House.

After the putsch he was appointed First Deputy of the Commanding Officer of CIS Armed Forces.

The Russian Federation Procurator's Offices maintain that only General Achalov should be arraigned. The inquiry has been completed. Are we to let bygones be bygones?

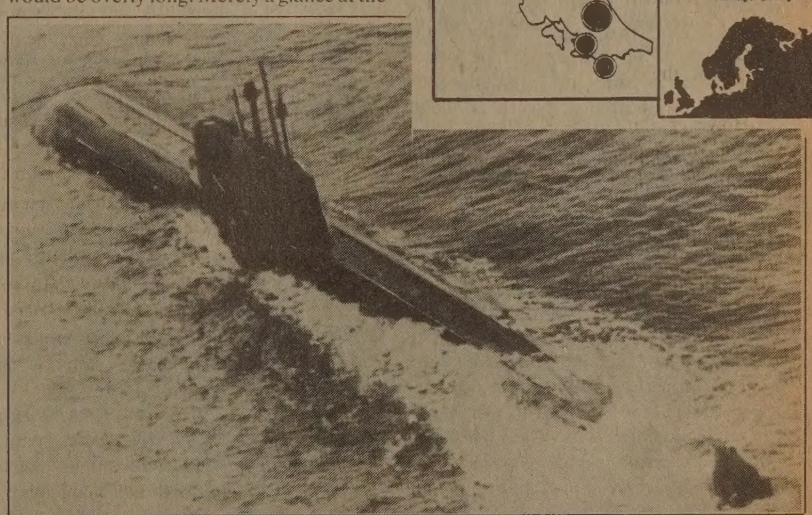
Kara gates to nuclear inferno

Does Novaya Zemlya spell death?

Lenin, the revolutionary, lies in his tomb on Red Square. But the Lenin, the icebreaker, lies at the bottom of the sea, with three nuclear reactors east of Novaya Zemlya. Also contaminating Arctic waters in their vicinity are another twelve reactors from Soviet submarines, as well as one whole submarine and sections of four K-3 to K-27 submarines, one of them (K-3) known as the *Leninski Komsomol* and another (K-19) nicknamed *Hiroshima*, that were all dumped, and again secretly, into the Kara Sea.

"The radioactive waste from the icebreakers is peanuts compared to the mountains from submarines," says Lena Ag, expert of Greenpeace Sverige. "The present exposures are but the tip of the iceberg," she adds.

We already know that sunk around the archipelago are some 17,000 containers with solid and liquid wastes of varying levels of radioactivity. However, bearings have been defined for only 10,000 containers. Conspicuous among them by reason of size is the barge *Bauman* thus named after another red revolutionary hero. A simple enumeration of these ecological crimes would be overly long. Merely a glance at the map below suffices to term the centre of the "Soviet" Arctic a focus of nuclear genocide in respect to nature and to the present and successive generations of northerners. One man involved in some such clandestine operations complained that seamen from his native town of Arkhangelsk had the wool pulled over their eyes, when they were told that the containers sunk were supposedly only a means of defence against US submarines.



This Greenpeace map designates the basic burial sites of containers with radioactive waste and of reactors from nuclear-powered ships and submarines. Also noted are nuclear explosion testing areas

This area was also the arena for nuclear test explosions, including several record-breaking ones, such as the biggest atmospheric test, the first underwater test and the first under-seabed test. Likewise staged between Novaya Zemlya's northern and southern islands were the "newest" Soviet tests after the Semipalatinsk proving ground was closed down. Thus in 1973 the admiral who had earlier been in command of the Novaya Zemlya base intimated to me that the archipelago was "simply created for nuclear experimentation" and that "there was nothing to be sorry about there." No doubt that is why it was recently suggested to have chemical weapons destroyed there in the inferno of subterranean nuclear explosions.

But back to the nuclear-powered fleet, the second most dangerous source of radioactive contamination after the antideluvian Soviet-type atomic power plants. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors believe the Kola atomic power plant presents 317 "safety hazards." However, there inspectors are not let aboard warships, inasmuch as naval nuclear secrets are not accountable to international agencies, although there is certainly something to be seen and metered there.

The former USSR, and nowadays the Russian Federation, has 170 ships powered by 324 reactors, which thus accounts for 60 percent of the world's total. In the Kola peninsula alone there are 200 reactors. May I note that based in Murmansk are seven nuclear-powered icebreakers and cargo ships. Also here, or in Severomorsk, the Northern Navy's main base, is a light aircraft carrier plus another 115 nuclear-powered naval units, mostly submarines carrying ballistic or cruise missiles and some 106 strike submarines, each of which contains at least one, if not two, reactors. Though the true figures for the number and type of accidents aboard are still confidential, the Kara "cemetery" indicates that such accidents have been systematically occurring since long ago. Other seabeds also bear this out, as not infrequently submarines sank in distant waters. True, more often than not only the equipment, a compartment or the entire hull were contaminated, in which case only crews or repairmen suffered.

Such an accident occurred in July 1961, when a carrier pipe burst aboard a submarine in British offshore waters, in August 1980, when a submarine caught fire near Japan, and in May 1985 when a missile carrier burst into flame in the Vladivostok harbour. More serious accidents when a submarine's rescue was out of question, took place in April 1970, in October 1986 and again in April 1989, the date of the *Komsomolets* disaster in the Norwegian Sea. Incidentally, if the *Komsomolets* is salvaged its contaminated remnants will presumably be buried again in the Kara Sea.

In recent months Soviet and CIS – or Russian – nuclear-powered submarines have drastically curtailed their distant patrolling for political, economic and military reasons. Yet ecologically this cannot be taken as a blessing, as a vast number of potential radioactivity hazards are currently concentrated in the Barents Sea coastal waters. Worst off in this respect are local bases and the port of Murmansk, where most of the region's population live. Experts note the growing danger of accidents, due to deteriorating ship servicing and discipline among military and civilian specialists and likewise due to more frequent short-term exercises in coastal waters as a result of which reactors more often operate in a warming-up regime when breakdown probability is greatest. Nowadays the Barents Sea is jam-packed with submarines, including some American ones and though the latest collision between a Russian and an American submarine raised a clamour, it is by no means the one and only case.

The escalation of submarine accidents into a catastrophe, that may menace a large section of Northern Europe let alone the Kola peninsula and the Barents Sea is at times hypothetized. Yet, I will not cite the figures furnished for the number of dead and irradiated, as having been manifestly computed without account taken of unknown technical and other parameters. Nevertheless the consequences may be grave indeed.

The situation is further aggravated by the fact that within the narrow confines of a submarine, it is impossible to house such a complex safety system as at an atomic power plant. Moreover, the reactor itself is not as hermetically sealed and sturdy. Hence the cooling system should be still more powerful. True, this is virtually out of question, even though liquid metal may be employed in place of water.

Finally, maintenance and checkups at sea are extremely difficult as some of the required repair equipment is found only aboard mother-ships and factories ashore. Hence in the event of an accident the damaged submarine steers despite the danger of contamination, into Murmansk, Severomorsk or Severodvinsk, where the human factor comes into play.

Realize that in the Arctic we face a stupendous problem which divides into the three questions of what to do nowadays to prevent future accidents, how to safely bury not at sea but in dry ground reactors, fuel wastes and nuclear warheads from written-off submarines, and finally, how to de-activate all underwater cemeteries with high levels of radioactivity. If this problem is not resolved, the Arctic's lot will be a truly sorry one.

Though the fate of the Kara Sea seems already decided, it would be a crime to let matters slide, as with the passage of time currents will spread nuclear contamination throughout the Arctic Ocean and subsequently into the Atlantic.

Alexander Polyukhov,
NT correspondent

STOCKHOLM

Moscow denial

Dr Hans-Friedrich MEYER, the IAEA's public relations chief told Your Correspondent the following as regards the burial of nuclear waste in the Novaya Zemlya area:

"The first tentative suggestions on this score were made last November at a scientific conference in Norway. However, thus far we have no official confirmation. On the contrary, in 1990 the USSR government officially notified IAEA that the Soviet Union was not burying nuclear wastes at sea... Before drawing any serious conclusions, we must obtain results from the joint Norwegian-Russian expedition slated for this coming autumn."

Prior to 1983, Dr Meyer noted, only eleven countries, namely Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Switzerland, the U.K. and the USA dumped radioactive wastes in the high seas, naturally observing the appropriate safety measures. This was done in specially allotted places with exactly defined bearings, namely in mid-Atlantic between Portugal and Central America. Since then a moratorium has been imposed on such dumping and thus far no violations have been confirmed.

There are plans in 1993 to ban the burial of radioactive wastes in the high seas.

Anatoly Kovrigin,
NT correspondent

VIENNA

Will the Democratic Russia movement become a presidential party?

Arkady Dubnov

"Today the Democratic Russia movement resembles an empty can, thrown along a staircase and rattling noisily." This is what I heard recently from one of the delegates at a meeting of the bloc of Russia's democratic parliamentary factions at which the crisis situation in the movement was discussed.

It wasn't very delicately put, rather it sounded biting and even expressive. But is it correct?

The strange word "morality"

So what's happened? Does the Democratic Russia movement no longer exist? Or is the announced discontinuation of their membership in the Democratic Russia's government bodies, till its next extraordinary conference by the movement's five prominent leaders Marina Salie, Yury Afanasyev, Bella Denisenko, Leonid Batkin and Yury Burtin (the first three of whom are also Russian people's deputies) – a political demarche pursuing internal political and tactical aims?

Democracy is not a "bright future" but only a procedure...

The authors of the "declaration of the five" who brought against the Coordination Council of the movement grave accusations of "lacking principles, intriguing, opportunism, and the lack of an independent position on national, state and economic matters," as well as of "the lack of, in the first place, moral qualities indispensible for conducting a serious policy," must understand that their demarche is conducive to a serious crisis in the movement.

Born as a block of various mass organizations, popular fronts and associations of the electorate, the Democratic Russia movement was united by the priority task of smashing the Communist system. This occurred sooner than could have been expected by the most optimistic forecasts.

If not for those August days, many hundred thousand-strong demonstrations would have gathered under slogans of Democratic Russia up to this day. However, Democratic Russia had lost its monolithic unity long before the August events.

Two very large demonstrations by democratic forces took place in February 1990. Marching in this column is the Democratic Platform in the CPSU, subsequently the Republican Party of Russia

...May 1991. Units of the Soviet Army and internal troops deport Armenians from Getashen and Martunashen, promoting the implementation of the Azerbaijani leadership's policy in Nagorny Karabakh. The Russian parliament keeps silent. The Coordination Council of the movement discusses the resolution proposed by Leonid Batkin denouncing the actions of the army and calling upon Russia's parliament to give a political assessment of the events. The Council adopts the first part of the resolution and declines the second by majority vote.

"We can't afford putting the leadership of the Supreme Soviet in an awkward position; presidential elections are at hand, it is impractical," say the pragmatists in the movement.

"In the end of the 20th century, and in our situation in particular, ethical principles are an absolutely practical thing," argue those who refuse to remain complacent. "Morality is good when preached from the pulpit, but not in politics," is the answer.

The piquant aspect of the situation is that these last words are uttered by an esteemed democrat directly involved in Orthodox Christian practices...

The idealists and the pragmatists

The Novo Ogaryovo process is launched. The group Independent Civil Initiative comprising Yuri Afanasyev, Leonid Batkin, Yury Burtin, as well as Yelena Bonner, Vyacheslav Ivanov, Vladimir Bibler and Lev Timofeyev direct an address to Boris Yeltsin in which they express doubt concerning the expediency of signing the Union Treaty. In the meantime, the Coordination Council adopts by majority vote a resolution approving the Novo Ogaryovo proposals as the first attempt to reach political compromise.

Even before the Novo Ogaryovo formula "9+1" was born, two approaches to the idea of an All-Russia political strike came in collision in the Democratic Russia leadership. According to radically minded Democrats, large-scale strikes by miners under political slogans were to grow into an all-around strike and thus ultimately change the situation in the country and overthrow the already shattered great-power and nomenclatura central government. The centrists who were the majority here too, did not support the idea.

"To call for unprepared actions is suicidal at this movement," said later the co-chairman of the movement Vladimir Bokser. "The reaction would have been able to take this opportunity to suppress Democratic Russia. And, generally speaking, the labour movement is apprehensive of such appeals by the intelligentsia, fearing that it will be made to bring to power an alien force."

Yes, it was pragmatic enough; but how in this case should one consider the appeal Andrei Sakharov made in December 1989 for an all-around political strike? It did not take place then, but the demand of cancelling article 6 of the Constitution ("The CPSU is the leading and guiding force...") was put to practice a few months later. Was it due to an "appeal by the intelligentsia?" Or was it Sakharov's appeal – the great physicist had sharp intuition in other matters, too...

Up to a certain point all these differences caused mutual irritation only within the movement's leadership. The first split occurred in its right flank after the putsch. In November 1991, at the second conference of Democratic Russia, the latter was left by Narodnoye Soglasiye (Popular Concord) comprising Travkin's Democratic Party of Russia, Russian Christian Democratic Movement headed by Victor Aksyuchits and the Mikhail Astafyev-led Constitutional Democrats.

The right-centrist coalition of advocates of strong statehood and of great-power ideology had long felt uncomfortable among the liberals and centrists, all the more so as the advocates of a "unitary and indivisible Russia," which would have been impossible in a country of "victorious Democratic Russia's followers, were already forming into an opposition to Yeltsin."

The Right-wing conservatives left; the centrist-pragmatists and Left-wing radicals remained. Previously the latter had formed a strategic opposition to the former, now they were in opposition to each other.

The crew ashore

A conflict betweeen them was predetermined not so much by their concepts of Russian statehood as by different attitudes towards the ruling democratic regime. Whereas the centrists (Lev Ponomaryov, Gleb Yakunin, Vladimir Bokser) who partly identified Democratic Russia with Russia's democratic authorities proceeded from the humane principle "do not cause harm" in their ap-

Yury Afanasyev, formerly one of the leaders of the former Inter-regional Deputies Group, now one of former leaders of the Democratic Russia

Leonid Batkin, the most prominent expert in Renaissance history, who came to Democratic Russia in the hope to "cleanse" politics

They defeated the CPSU

Democratic Russia made itself known in the spring of 1990 when a bloc political forces opposed to the CPSU was created before the elections people's deputies of the Russian Federation and the local elections.

DR was founded at its Constituent Conference in Moscow in October 19 Voters' associations made up 20 percent of the delegates, the Democratic Pa of Russia was 16%, the Democratic Platform in the CPSU (currently the Repu lican Party of Russia) was 10%, the Christian Democratic Movement was 30 Social Democrats – 8%, independent local organizations – 14% and the CP – 3% of the total. The Movement was joined by the non-affiliated public a political organizations Memorial and the writers' association called April.

The right to participate in the Movement is reserved for individual citize public associations, clubs, labour and strike commitees... Between conferenc the Movement is coordinated by the Council of representatives and the Co dination Council.

At the second conference Yury Afanasyev, Lev Ponomaryov, Marina Sa Vladimir Smirnov and Gleb Yakunin were elected co-chairmen.

The beginning of 1991 was marked by a vehement opposition between and the state's totalitarian structures. Grandious demonstrations in Mosco Leningrad and large industrial centres organized by DR cultivated the soil for t successful presidential campaign in June. Boris Yeltsin's winning the electio was largely due to the support rendered him by Democratic Russia.

The bloc of democratic factions numbers nearly 300 members of the Russ parliament.

Vladimir Bokser, a pediatrician by profession and the chief ideologist of "democratic pragmatism" in the Movement

Father **Gleb Yakunin,** a well-known human rights defender suspended by the Church from his duties in the parish for his activity in the 1970s. He spent 7 years in labour camps and exile; a fervent anti-communist and a sober politician

Bella Denisenko, Russia's Deputy Minister of Public Health, topped the list of the most popular Democratic Russia leaders, having gained wide popularity after a long hungerstrike in support of the demands by striking miners

Photo by the author

preciation of the activities of the authorities, this policy of compromise was unacceptable to radicals.

They believed Democratic Russia must be an independent political force, partner and a powerful "opponent-ally" of the authorities, and not at all merely serve the interests of the latter. Their principle was the formula of "provisional support" for the authorities suggested by Sakharov.

Hence the reproofs against certain leaders of Democratic Russia for their inability to pursue an independent policy explained by their having become part of the mechanism of power, at least in Moscow. According to Marina Salie, "the Moscow branch of Democratic Russia unanimously defended the Moscow administration and, which is still worse, it did not protest against the fusion of commercial and state structures."

As one of the people's deputies has put it, Democratic Russia is degenerating into "state apparatchiks", which leads to the intellectual leaders being ousted from its ranks.

Could it have been otherwise? The intellectuals, if one means by this Yury Afanasyev and the historians and publicists close to him, joined the movement after it had been in fact created by the state apparat. It only remained to set sail and catch favourable wind. The well-known names were designed to play the role of the latter.

The desired port of destination seems to have been reached. The crew went ashore in expectation of honours; is there anyone to persuade the men to resume the journey? Perhaps the captain who gathered the crew and went ashore together with it to accept the honours, or the hired pilot who discovered that he had brought the ship and the crew to a wrong shore won't be satisfied with where they have landed.

The crew trusts in their captain because he knows how to manage them and will do his utmost to preserve the crew. All that the pilot can do is to gather a crew of his own, and if he proves unable to, he will have to look for a new job...

Who will prevail?

The mutineers demand that a crucial conference of the Movement be convened as soon as possible. They are supported by the block of democratic factions, and the functionaries of the Movement do not particularly oppose the idea – why should they? Let's imagine that the conference has been convened. Will it vote differently than before? Won't it back those whom it knows and trusts – Vladimir Bokser, Lev Ponomaryov and their followers? And lastly, everyone who has to do with politics knows that a lot of preliminary activity by the party apparat is required in order to get a desirable resolution adopted. Will Yury Afanasyev, or Yury Burtin, or Leonid Batkin be successful?

However, if the conference were able to discuss and adopt the Movement's programme and work out the principles of its activity in the new situation, this alone would be enough to consolidate its ranks. The latter circumstance would be particularly important for Democratic Russia's regional organizations. Unity is vitally important for them, because unity alone can help them withstand the dominant local post-Communist nomenclatura's pressure. It is not for nothing that, in spite of Nikolai Travkin having left Democratic Russia, many regional branches of his party still act jointly with Democratic Russia and on its behalf.

Interesting in this connection is a programme document titled "The case for Democratic Russia" and prepared by Yury Burtin for the Plenum of the Movement's representatives Council. For Yury Burtin, the priority task of the Movement today is to become "the motive force of radical economic reform" which is going to be "the second stage of the anti-totalitarian democratic revolution." The Yeltsin leadership acts exclusively by the methods of a "revolution from above," which, in Burtin's opinion, is a "grave strategic error."

He calls for support of reforms by means of a "revolution from below" and creation of "local public committees for reform." The document carries many disputable ideas, possibly utopian or even dangerous ones, with connotations of a kind of "economic police." Nevertheless, this interesting and respected document might serve as food for thought at the conference.

Emasculated versions of these ideas were resorted to by part of the Democratic Russia leadership in organizing the Constituent Conference of the Public Committee for Economic Reform. Having reduced the functions of such committees to propaganda and information alone the Conference tried to create a mere mechanism for unconditional support of the government.

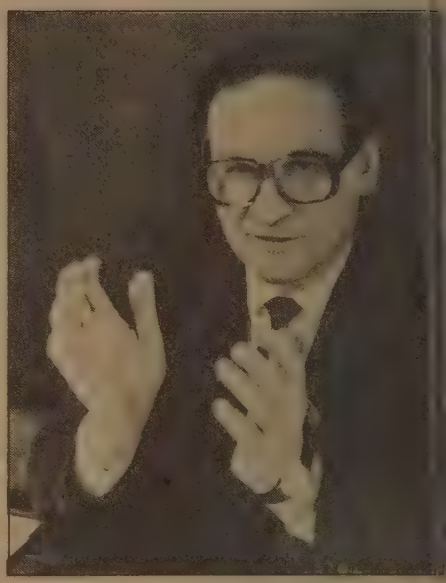
It would be appropriate to talk about creating a presidential party which might unite the members of the President's team, their followers, local state functionaries and other sensible people who unconditionally advocate the President's political course or sympathize with it. The idea is in the air – State secretary Burbulis mentioned it as plausible.

After all, isn't it precisely this task that the founders of the Movement for Democratic Reforms set themselves, with the only difference being that the other president's establishment was to become this party?

Isn't this why the Democratic Russia leaders criticized the Movement for Democratic Reforms? The nature of a mass movement is incompatible with the elite character of the MDR. Although one of its founding fathers, Stanislav Shatalin says that "so far the MDR has been only discrediting itself" because of its passiveness, the failure of such a movement does not do away with the idea itself. After all, de Gaulle managed first to become the leader of the nation and president and then create his own presidential party. De Gaulle has long since passed away, but his "Union for the Support of the Republic" is still flourishing and promotes other presidents to power.

But will Democratic Russia become a presidential party? And will the President choose precisely this party? The just resigned press secretary of the Russian President, Pavel Voshchanov, intends to form a non-party bloc of the electorate called "new democratic forces." A new party for the President?

The microphone is not the most important attribute of parliamentarism



Ask any ten people, picked at random, who Nikolai Ryabov is, and none is likely to give you the right answer. Even a leading question like who chairs the Soviet of the Republic of Russia's Supreme Soviet is certain to leave them puzzled.

It is four months now since Nikolai Ryabov replaced in this parliamentary post Vladimir Isakov, once a true Yeltsinist and then a member of the "traitorous six." Ryabov's election to the post went smoothly – neither the Communists, nor the democrats challenged him. Well, who is Nikolai Ryabov? A mediocrity who suits all? An experienced centrist? A workhorse neither the Communists, nor the democrats can do without? The heads of Parliament should be known by sight – in today's Russia, at any rate.

Nikolai Ryabov strikes one as a person of strong will, composed and even-tempered. Judging by his appearance and manners, he is someone to be relied on. Ryabov answered my questions in a soft-spoken, unhurried manner, with a slight provincial accent.

Nikolai RYABOV, Chairman of the Soviet of the Republic of the Russian Supreme Soviet, interviewed by a *New Times* correspondent

The papers rarely mention your name, never carry interviews with you or your articles, which is not typical of an MP in your position...

Newspaper and television reporters favour only one group of politicians and keep them in the public eye. These politicians are never forgotten about, their comments are much sought after, and all their statements are frontpaged. Has anyone ever tried to trace the record of these politicians' achievements over their two years in parliament? What are the MPs who use the microphone more frequently than others famous for?

I've just had a talk in my office with two committee chairmen. We have put the finishing touches to the law on exempting from military service you men who are their mothers' only support. I de with dozens of such social problems every day, a I consider this work to be more important th granting interviews round the clock.

Why make Shakhrai an odious figure?

Many of our politicians believe that being the limelight is a passport to success...

Well, I don't. When I first arrived here, I was total stranger without any pretensions, and just g down to work. People seem to have appreciat that.

Are there many other MPs who mean bus ness like you do?

Most of them are that way, I'm sure. That's wh you don't see much of them.

The problem is that some of the MPs, democra for the most part, seek positions in executive pow structures. What for? Can't they see that they a weakening parliament by doing so? If not stoppe this process may finally spell an end to parliame tarism in the country.

It is impossible to work in parliament and to hol an executive post at one and the same time. Thos who try to do that are no good as deputies, and the know it.

Do you mean Sergei Shakhrai?

Is Shakhrai the only one? Why make him an od ous figure? There are many others... By the wa

Nikolai Ryabov is 45. He was born into a worker's family in the Rostov Region. He graduated from a technical school and subsequently from a military-political school. However, he soon resigned from the army, after which he studied law at Rostov University and then taught in an agricultural school. "I had no desire to work in a Prosecutor's Office or in a court. Those days it was impossible to serve the law, and I decided to work with youngsters," says Nikolai Ryabov. He appeared on the ballot as an independent candidate for People's Deputy of the Russian Federation, although he remained a Communist and even the secretary of a party cell. He insists that his views fully coincide with Democratic Russia's position.

He resigned from the CPSU during the putsch. He spent all those three August days in the building of the Russian Parliament. In October, he replaced Vladimir Isakov as the Chairman of the Soviet of the Republic. He also headed a parliamentary group of Russia's Supreme Soviet.

Nikolai Ryabov's wife teaches music. His son is an undergraduate on the faculty of law of Rostov University.

we are setting up a professional parliament, and on April 1 certain deputies will have to make a choice.

Won't this cause a parliamentary crisis?

No, it won't. I am certain that most MPs will decide for the Supreme Soviet.

Do factional conflicts interfere with the work of your Chamber?

In any normal parliament, factions are represented by different parties. Our Supreme Soviet is different in that: its factions are non-party, and now our MPs are trying to find, and even to create, a social base for themselves. This partly explains why they reach for the microphone so often and try to attract public attention...

It has taken us an hour to draw up the agenda of today's session, for instance. Many questions, apparently important and urgent ones, have been put on it. But only apparently so. Such practice is unacceptable to a serious MP. A serious MP takes the floor only if what he has to say has been previously agreed upon in the relevant committee. In our case, MPs often demand action on what they have just read about in a newspaper, although there is such a thing as the order of the day, i.e., problems people expect us to discuss without delay.

I admit that some MPs may be interested to know the details of the collision between the two submarines. What's more, we may by right feel indignant over the incident – after all, we pay taxes to maintain the army, which is supported by Russia, as you know, and it is a scandal that an intruder feels at home in our waters. But what's the use of hearing out the government's explanations "just in passing"? An MP who demands such explanations merely wants to show that he "is concerned over the nation's security," and that's all.

The way I see it, if you are really security-minded, why don't you suggest a good law, a good military concept, and work on it for as long as you think fit? Skimming over some facts or other from day to day will solve no problems, it's just a waste of time.

"Sometimes we put too much trust in the government"

Your Chamber specializes in economic matters. Have you any comments to make on the first months of the reform?

It is hard going for the government, of course, because it has not had a free hand from the start. Others have made the first step for it.

The reformers' cabinet has been supported by society and by parliament, but this is not support **in general.** Criticism from the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet is quite natural and sensible. The whole of the Presidium is worried about the progress of the reform, by indications of public anxiety and disapproval. We trust the government, but we demand that it should display more responsibility and promptly correct its errors.

Take, for example, the parliament session which discussed the fate of the national Russian library. The government made a mistake, and parliament corrected it. Why should this be regarded as confrontation?

Sometimes we put too much trust in the government – the discussion over the taxation system is a case in point. Today it is clear that we shouldn't have given the President the right to hand-pick cabinet members and to change cabinet structure at his own discretion.

What was it exactly that put you on the alert?

The decree on a merger between the Ministry of the Interior and the Federal Security Agency, for example. The decree was revoked, but look at the time, money and effort wasted on it, and at the way it agitated the public. The decree created more problems than it solved. And what about the state legal administration under the President? It was a mistake to set up this body, and I'm sure it will be abolished soon. Executive and legal structures cannot be coordinated by one and the same body.

And what about the closing of a number of ministries and setting up ridiculous "departments" instead? For example, the national Ministry of Geology and Russia's State Committee for Geology have been abolished recently. And this in Russia, with its fabulous mineral wealth. How could the government neglect such vital sphere of activity as the development of mineral deposits?

Aren't such documents discussed by government and parliament representatives in joint sessions?

Such a mechanism has been provided for, and it works, but a great deal of normative acts are adopted outside it. They get straight to the President's desk, bypassing the working groups.

The lifting of state control over prices has brought promising results: the consumer market situation has improved somewhat, and the ruble is stabilizing. Unfortunately, the government is taking its time about making further moves. What is the current economic situation in the country, in your opinion? What ought to be given top priority?

I do not share the euphoria of some cabinet members who claim that everything is going according to plan.

What has happened is not price stabilization. Prices will stabilize only when they correlate with production, which the government pays little attention to. Besides that, the government is making mistakes. What, for instance, does the decree authorizing all natural and legal persons to settle their accounts in cash amount to? First, it complicates the problem of cash flow. Secondly, where are the taxes to come from in this case? The cash flow becomes uncontrollable and unaccountable.

I think the government should take state enterprises under its control without delay. Under no circumstances can the government relinquish control over its own property just like that. This would result in hundreds upon hundreds of factories stopping production, or at best working far below capacity. Today enterprise managers put their personnel on indefinite layoffs, and tomorrow they will be compelled to discharge them.

Whether we want it or not, we shall have to renew economic ties, even if by 50-70 percent. Work collectives should have guarantees of some kind. The government may well leave, say, the military-industrial complex on its own. But can it really make out on its own? The production of certain weapons takes years. Supposing you are on the midway of building a submarine, and then they tell you to stop. The bank demands its credits back, the workers demand their wages, and contractors want a settlement. Can all ties be severed overnight?

"Sweeping" privatization is a provocation

Do you think that the practice of concluding obligatory contracts should be renewed?

I do. In that case we shall have time for orderly privatization, for restructuring, for the demonopolization of production. "Sweeping" privatization which is being talked about so much now is a provocation. This kind of privatization will do neither the people nor the state any good.

Privatization is in progress in the former GDR as well, but the process of selecting buyers takes five or six months there. Our privatization campaigners believe that the job can be done in a week or so...

You've just said that parliament will be adjusting taxation policy...

The role that taxes have to play here is 80-percent fiscal, that is, they serve to replenish the Treasury. Their stimualting function is insignificant, because it is directed chiefly to the social sphere and, to a meagre extent, to production. I am convinced that the government will never get the budget revenue it has planned for the first quarter. The value-added tax is most doubtful, too. Therefore parliament will probably revise both taxation rates and tax structure. We have already cut the taxes levied on food suppliers.

Will the coming Congress of People's Deputies adopt a new Constitution?

It is supposed to. A new Constitution will mean a new state. However hard we may try to amend the Brezhnev Constitution, we shall always come against old ideology.

The national state system is a stumbling block today. Hopefully, we shall succeed, towards the middle of March, in agreeing upon the basic clauses that distribute functions among the subjects of the Federation and to adopt the appropriate law. In that case we shall be in a position to submit the draft Constitution to the Congress. If not, then our territories and regions may presently announce their withdrawal from the Federation.

Interviewer **Marina Shakina**

The potential of the Russian people is immense although now suppressed and distorted by the regime

Photo by V. Khristoforov

The Russian tragedy

Russian nationalism is coming to the foreground. Will it look civilized?

Leonid Vasilyev

The Russian national idea came into being a long time ago. This idea, unusually diverse and all-embracing, can be simplified into the statement that Russia is peculiar and specific, that its national tradition is characterized by communal collectivism (or, as a variant, the Orthodox Christian *sobornost)* rather than by European individualism, and that Russia is first and foremost a power, and a great power at that. Hence the conclusion that this peculiarity must be appreciated and cherished, collectivism and *sobornost* must be preserved and revived to whatever extent possible, and the powerful and, possibly, monarchic state should not be allowed to vanish.

A convenient formula

This general formulation of the national idea (I ask the reader's forgiveness for its unavoidable simplicity) can be suitable for many in our country today, from communists to monarchists, not to mention profascist national-socialist groups of all brands emerging in abundance anywhere in the world in troubled times, and which are vociferously announcing their appearance in our country. Military professionals and paramilitary units of the Cossak type may become its active advocates.

Russian national idea, in its practically most unbridled nationalist version, is not merely coming to the fore in Russia's political life, it consolidates real forces around itself. On the one hand, it leans on the grandeur of those who advocated it in the past and who are ready to support it today, Solzhenitsyn not excluded. On the other hand, it exploits the tragedy of the humiliated people perceiving much of what is going on through the prism of traditional views and stereotypes (the country's falling apart; the Russians have been deprived of their rights, especially in the provinces where they are persecuted). In addition, it is supported by all those who don't want to become a thing of the past together with the empire which they served, be it the influential partocracy or army officers deprived of all status. Lastly, this idea is backed by the lumpenized strata of city suburbs, infected with ethnophobic prejudices, spiritual descendants of the Black-

Continued from No. 9/92.

Hundred fighters. This list probably fails to include all.

In a word, we are confronted by a perilous social force. What is to be done with it? Can it be neutralized? Or reoriented?

It would seem very simple to adopt the national-patriotic idea and endow it with democratic American-style hues, thus depriving the opposition of this powerful weapon. So what's the problem?

This is precisely the tragedy of not just Russians, but of Russia as a historical and political entity which aspires for a dignified existence in the future, that the liberal democratic principles and forms of this state's existence are practically incompatible with the Russian national idea, at least in its habitual and time-proven form in which it is known to all and implemented by present national-patriots. It should be kept in mind, however, that these principles and forms of the state's existence are precisely those envisaged by the Russian present leadership, with the advanced strata of society supporting them, and no less important, by advanced countries of the world community which are ready to help this kind of Russia.

One circumstance is noteworthy here: no sooner do the concerned leaders of the new Russia uphold in some way or other the national-patriotic idea in any of its forms – be it the question of borders or minorities rights – practically automatically they find themselves in a situation where they have to retreat or apologize under the pressure of those who consistently advocate the principles of liberal democracy and do not even consent to the very raising of the question of borders being revised, to a restriction of anyone's rights, since they rightly see in this a threat to both Russia and the entire world, as well as for democracy as such. Why so?

Everyone is not sinless

Under the present conditions, any overt manifestation of national-patriotism, including the seemingly reasonable raising of the question of borders and territories (the Crimea issue, or that of Russian-populated regions of Kazakhstan, for instance), of reasonable limits of independence for enclave-type communities like Tatarstan, not to mention the support for the idea of reviving provincial Cossak units or manifest sympathy for the Orthodox Christian faith, turns out to be a manifestation of the great-power ideology.

Both in popular mentality and in political practice, Russian nationalism appears inseparable from great-power, imperial and totalitarian ideology, and as such it is immediately and rather resolutely rejected by Democrats.

To what extent it is justifiable is a different matter. Perhaps it will be possible to clear up these problems in the course of time. However, today, after the collapse of the hated empire, any attempt to emphasize Russian or Russia's interests are immediately interpreted as great-power and imperial interests.

So what can Democrats do in this intricate situation? It is far from accidental that great-power statements are heard in the pronouncements of the most prominent politicians, from Rutskoi to Sobchak. In this respect the President himself is not without a sin. And how can it be avoided under such pressure from national-patriots? The reverse side of the problem is also worth attention – for how long is it permissible to retreat under the pressure of secessionists threatening to destroy the Russian Federation just as the totalitarian empire was previously destroyed? Where is the criterion determining the reasonable limit to concessionism? Great Britain is not going to give Scotland away to separatists who are not scarce there at all. So why should Russia silently retreat under the pressure?

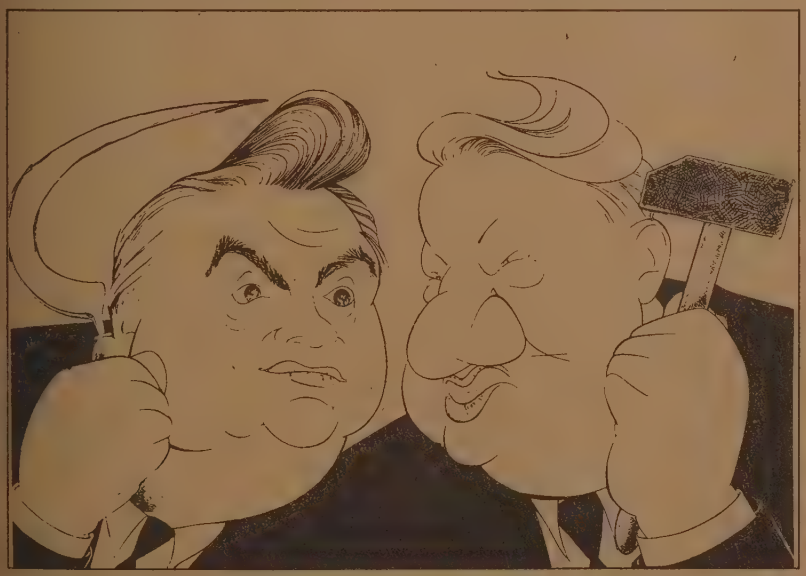
Many search for a way out. The dilemma is very simple – either the country's disintegration is prevented in the name of the great-power idea, or it is allowed without being regarded as a global tragedy.

This dilemma affords the genuine Democrats only one option – to silently consent to the logical process of the empire's disintegration, this time affecting Russia proper. Yet the same Democrats, now at the wheel, can't avoid seeing that a solution of that kind is fraught not only with the danger of losing power, but also with the probable near triumph of national-patriots, not necessarily of a moderate brand. The above-mentioned great-power slips of the tongue by democratic leaders are not at all accidental – they are concerned and looking for a way out, trying, so to speak, to preserve their Democratic virginity while amassing political capital. But is there a way out?

Strictly speaking, there is none. The Russian national idea today, in its current interpretation leaning on classical theses of national-patriotism is incompatible with liberal democratic principles. The only possible way out is a general reformulation of this idea, supplying it with a new interpretation.

To my mind, the issue now is to manage to convince the Russians in the word's most general sense – and now that the empire has collapsed, Russia is practically completely inhabited by Russians (Russia's citizens, Russian-speaking people) alone – that the great country has not perished. On the contrary, it is reviving.

It is both possible and necessary to sac-



Some people believe Russia's claim for the Black Sea fleet to be a manifestation of her imperial chauvinism

rifice something for the sake of the rebirth of the great country of Russians. It is possible, in particular, to channel separatist aspirations, fed by the easiness with which the empire has collapsed and by the fact of the creation of many independent states, along the lines of moderate ethno-cultural autonomy, emphasizing the common sense of the majority opposed to extremist ambitions. The idea of the right of nations to self-determination in its habitual, and in fact false Marxist interpretation must be replaced by a more reasonable idea of the right of ethnic groups to consolidation and national advance in the framework of ethno-cultural autonomy.

Alongside, it would be wise to extend the greatest possible independence to large regions to make them something like American states or German lands. This would stem outbursts of separatism fed by just or illusory notions of "everyone living at our expense."

These are our heroes

Something like a national-cultural idea must emerge as an alternative to the Russian national-patriotic idea on a country-wide scale in Russia. A large-scale propaganda of the great Russian (Russia's, or Russian-language, if so preferred) culture must be brought to the fore in the framework of Russian national-cultural (and by no means national-patriotic) concepts. By no means is it possible to shun attracting popular attention to such great figures as Father Sergii or the great princes of old on whom national-patriots of, at times, the most extremist brand concentrate their attention. These are not their great heroes, they are our, Russian, Russia's outstanding figures. However, the emphasis should be laid not on the building of the empire, as was the case in the interpretation of Russian history in the recent past, and as is typical of national-patriotic propaganda today, but on the historico-cultural meaning of the activities of our forefathers who created not so much a mighty empire as the great Russian culture.

It goes without saying that nobody will ever Russify by force the Tatars, Daghestanians or Bashkirs (as well as, by the way, Jews, Germans or Russian-speaking settlers from the Caucasus). For all that, all of them will be Russians in the sense of Russia's citizens, full-fledged residents of the reviving great democratic Russia. As for Russians proper who now feel humiliated and therefore are the national-patriotic reserve, they will find new pride and regain the possibility to satisfy their national feelings participating in their country's great culture.

Don't envy fruit peddlers

I am least of all inclined to join the choire of those who implore us to pay attention to culture. I realize that such appeals are to no avail and therefore I formulate the issue in a different manner: the country's democratic leadership will never be able to overpower the increasingly consolidating national-patriotic reaction, and risk the loss of power followed with the most serious consequences for Russia, unless it changes its position and concentrates its attention on the revival and glorification of Russian culture, unless it bothers to switch over the energy of the agitated and ill-fated masses from militant national-patriotism to the quiet flow of national and cultural resurrection.

I don't mention the housing issue or that of daily bread, although both are extremely important; much has been said, is being said and will be said about it. What I want to say is something evasive, but nonetheless pivotal. It is the syndrome of an offended and humiliated Russian whose situation has been so successfully exploited by our national-patriots. Our task is to hearten up these humiliated Russians, imbue them with confidence in a great future — not a radiant Communist future as a myth, but an industrial and economic one as a tangible reality.

Any sensible social and political scientist or social psychologist clearly sees and understands that the potential of the Russians is immense, although now suppressed and distorted by the regime and deprived of even that scarce compensation which is bestowed on its people by the generous Caucasian soil. So let's stop envying those who supply our market-places with tangerines and nuts. Let's rather turn our attention to those professionals who create and sell advanced computer programmes on the world market, who have proved able to create excellent weapons and who can produce instead other up-to-date, technologically advanced and really needed goods tomorrow.

An ode to a marketing expert

People are tired of bitter drugs which no longer heal, encourage or give hope to anyone, but, on the contrary, frustrate and kill hopes.

I am not going to recommend to lie or conceal the truth, God forbid. But isn't it time to publish materials and talk on TV more often about matters inspiring hope, along with more or less optimistic forecasts which people simply don't believe as a rule? And the priority may be given, strange as it may seem, to national-patriotic themes.

Democratic (I insist on this word) journalists, non-fiction writers, scholars and political figures, and cultural workers and clericals must expound and comment on events of Russian history, achievements of Russian culture, the lifestyle, ways and customs of the remote and recent past. All that must be expounded in the spirit of the assertion that, although many of the good things of the past have been irreparably lost, much can be still revived and reasserted. All this must instil in the people the pride for their past — the pre-communist past mercilessly destroyed by the bloody totalitarian regime — and hopes for its revival. The people will take heart, regain hope, pierce through with their sight to the past which may and must revive in the future, be it industrious work with one's own land, masterly work of a self-esteeming and adequately remunerated professional, an honest business of a tradesman or, in the current parlance, a marketing expert, or the honourable profession of a schoolmaster fostering the eternal values in the young generation...

There are no doubts that the suggested programme, if it is earnestly adopted and actively implemented, will be able, in a sufficiently short time, to change the gloomy current stereotype, with its complaints of exorbitant prices and poor life and with the incessant dissatisfaction with the inefficient and corrupt authorities. A change of this stereotype coupled with a hope for the revival of national spirit and even, if so preferred, of national pride will be extremely helpful to the country.

I believe this is precisely the path to link the Russian national idea and Russia's liberal and democratic great future.

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MIDDLE EAST

Israeli settlements in the Arab territories

Why not in the Negev Desert?

A Palestinian fellah against the background of an Isâraèli settlement

Photo from Newsweek (USA)

Dmitry Zgersky

The Israeli settlements in the occupied territories remain the main stumbling block in the peace process initiated in Madrid. Israel is literally choked with the flood of immigrants from the former Soviet Union. "The enthusiasts of Zionism have probably remained only in your country," a devout Jew told me. "Today Zionism looks in Israel almost like Bolshevism in Russia."

Ultimatum instead of credit

Tel Aviv is contemplating at least temporary restrictions on immigration, because there are not enough jobs and homes for new citizens. They risk finding themselves in the situation into which the citizens of Russia have slided.

It is believed that ten billion dollars would be sufficient to solve the problem of absorption, to provide immigrants with work and housing. Washington is prepared to give such a credit provided Israel stops building settlements in the Arab territories.

Itzhak Shamir: the talks will be stalled without US billions, but settlements will remain in any case

Last year was very hard for Premier Itzhak Shamir. He had to manoeuvre, trying to please both Washington, by Israel's participation in the peace talks, and his associates from the right wing of the Likud bloc, by building settlements in the Arab territories. After the January government crisis in Israel it seemed that the peace process had been broken off for a long time and would be resumed in full measure only after an early parliamentary election next summer. Itzhak Shamir was already regarded as a provisional figure.

However, far from relaxing, Premier Shamir has stepped up his efforts in the remaining period. The Israeli delegation took part in the Moscow talks, and on February 24 it appeared at a new round of talks with the Arabs with its plan of autonomy for the Palestinians.

Itzhak Shamir apparently decided to score points just before the coming election. His chief aim is to get a ten billion dollar credit from the United States. According to the British magazine *Middle East*, the pro-Israeli lobby has been mobilized in the US Senate for approval of the largest credit in the history of American-Israeli relations. Since 1967 Tel Aviv has received from Washington about 77 billion dollars in credits and grants. However, ten billion dollars as emergency aid is a record for which Israel would probably applaud Shamir.

But the plan failed. Shamir continued building settlements in the occupied territories. Instead of giving a credit, Washington demanded in the form of an ultimatum that the unlawful creation of enclaves in foreign territories should be stopped. Tel Aviv is now discussing whether it could do without American credit, that is, how to solve the problem by its own efforts and means. There is no talk of terminating the construction of settlements. On the contrary, it is in full swing. The Palestinian delegation protests. Nevertheless, the talks continue.

I had occasion to visit these settlements and formed a rather odd impression of them.

Intifadah does not concern them

During my tour of the occupied West Bank I was accompanied by Raphael Horowitz, a reserve colonel, who fluently speaks Arabic and several other languages. He told me in Russian: "For the Motherland, for Stalin – that is how one should not fight." Raphael boasted that he never travels in the occupied territories with arms, because he always finds a common language with Arabs.

The first settlement we visited struck me by its beauty and idyllic atmosphere. On both sides of the highway, among lifeless rocks and deserts, a typical landscape for Palestine, lies a settlement with trees and flower-beds, two- or three-story houses of various designs, each with a couple of underground garages. Near the highway is a superb swimming pool with a bar. Some people were bathing. Others, in swimsuits, were sipping cold cocktails under canvasses. The settlement had a large supermarket with a great variety of goods available, a school, a clinic, a kindergarten, and a neat colour TV sets assembly plant. The small town seemed deserted because of midday heat. I could see no arms or soldiers.

Another settlement spreads over the lifeless sandy plain. I was struck by its ideal cleanness, a lot of trees and bushes, modern houses with every convenience. Each family had two cars. As in other settlements, solar batteries were mounted on the roofs. Farther, on the rocks, I saw similar attractive settlements of Arabs. Each family had its own modern house.

Unexpectedly, I saw **Arabs** enthusiastically working on one side of the highway. They were building one more settlement for Israelis, even better than the first one.

An even greater surprise awaited us on the way back from the West Bank. We drove into a well-built Arab settlement with shops and modern amenities. Everywhere I saw signs and ads in Arabic. Suddenly, without any boundary, fence or barbed wire, we found ourselves in a Jewish settlement. The same houses and shops, but only all signs in Hebrew. The Arabs and Jews live side by side and probably do their shopping in both settlements. Children were playing in the street, and it was difficult to guess whether they were from Arab or Jewish families.

Some time later, in a conversation with an Israeli politician, I questioned the legality of the construction of Israeli settlements in the Arab territories. He replied that no one was taking land, if one may call it so, from the Arabs. Settlements are built on the plots of land bought by Jews long ago.

Exchange of territories

Last year, in Moscow, I met Rabbi Adin Steinsalz, an Israeli scholar and public figure, who reminded me of a slightly reduced copy of Leo Tolstoy. "Don't you know that settlements are built on the plots of land bought from Arabs half a century ago?" he asked with

Israel: a funeral of people killed by Lebanese Shiites

Lebanon: mourning for the victims of a retaliatory attack

surprise. "We have title deeds, and the local Arabs recognize them."

I did not know about the purchase of land, did not see title deeds, and did not talk with Arab neighbours. It was likely that the honourable rabbi was misled.

Be that as it may, at the height of peace talks Itzhak Shamir is trying to gain a foothold on the forgotten plots, for Tel Aviv will be unable to recover them if the West Bank becomes a part of an independent Palestine fenced off from Israel by a state frontier. According to the latest data, 104,000 Israelis have moved for permanent residence to 145 settlements in the Arab territories. It is said there is a secret plan for building 4,000 houses for them in the environs of East Jerusalem, which the Israeli authorities themselves consider the Arab part of the city.

Shamir once said last year that the Jews and Arabs must coexist in the West Bank and the Gaza strip as good neighbours, learn to understand each other, and live as friends. It sounds nice. But what kind of independence will Arab Palestine have with Israeli enclaves here and there. How can one talk about Arab Palestine if its demographic composition is artificially changed by the occupying state? Shimon Peres, former leader of the Israel Labour Party, once said that Israel has enough deserts where a paradise could be built without creating problems for anyone. Take, for instance, the Negev Desert in the south. Its area is larger than the rest of Israel. If there are indeed Israeli-owned plots of land in the Arab territories, it would be far more promising to redeem them or make a territorial exchange. Israel would at least be able to receive its much needed credit, and the main problem in the dialogue with the Arabs would be removed.

Whims and concessions

In assessing the results, even preliminary, of the Madrid Conference with its follow-ups one has the feeling that Israel is playing some game with the aim of gaining as much as possible without giving anything in exchange. The former Soviet Union and the United States, the sponsors of the peace talks, and the Arab participants in them have so far made one concession after another.

Israel said it would not take part in the negotiations until the Soviet Union restored diplomatic relations in full with her. Such relations have been restored. Israel would agree to take part in the negotiations only if they became international. The sponsors had to rack their brains over how to meet this demand too since the negotiations were to be regional in character. Israel rejected the slogan of "peace for land" and would accept only the principle of "peace for peace." The participants in the negotiations met Israel halfway on this point too, though a similar principle renders innocuous the UN Security Council Resolution 242 on the withdrawal from the occupied territories.

Lastly, all previous rounds of talks stalled because of Israel's unyielding stance on procedural and other questions. Moreover, the Israeli delegation was not prepared for negotiations. The Palestinian delegation immediately put forth its plan of attaining independence. Israel did not submit any plan till the February meeting.

The stand of the Palestinian delegation has been constructive and reasonable from the very outset. It should be remembered that pressure is being put on it by those in the occupied territories who see no other way but bloodshed.

Mahmud al Zahar, a leader of the extremist religious organization Hamas in the Gaza strip, said: "We would take part in negotiations together with the PLO only with the aim of expressing our absolute opposition to the idea of the existence of two

Executions kept on file

Palestinians kill each other in the occupied territories

In the Israeli press I have read more than once about Palestinians killed by "their own" gunmen. One day I applied to the PLO press service in Tunisia for explanations. They promised to give me a reply several days later. And so I had a telephone call in my office.

"We are ready to meet with you," a voice said.

"What's the address?" I asked.

"Don't worry, we shall pick you up at your place."

At eight o'clock next evening, an unknown man knocked at my door. We drove from street to street for some time until we reached a plain but well protected house. After a careful search we entered a small, poorly lit study. A man got up from a low sofa and introduced himself: "Muhammad." A conversation began.

"The world press regularly reports that in the occupied territories Palestinians arbitrarily kill their compatriots. Is it so?" I asked.

"There are no arbitrary killings. This lie is spread by Zionist propaganda. We kill only

states – Jewish and Arab – in Palestine, or compromise in any form."

Organizations of this kind, active in the occupied territories, can win many followers if the Madrid process leads to nowhere. The Palestinian delegation discussed its actions with the PLO leaders. But it did not blindly fulfil their will, having displayed a high sense of responsibility for the destiny of their people.

A constructive stand has also been adopted by Jordan, which acted jointly with the Palestinian delegation. One can even understand now its position during the Iraqi aggression. What could King Hussein do when 60 percent of the country's population is made up of Palestinians, who enthusiastically supported the aggression launched by Saddam Hussein? After the Gulf war Jordan drastically changed its policy in favour of the Soviet-American plan of a peaceful settlement. Radical changes were made even in the cabinet. As a result, most posts were taken over by those who back the US policy in the region.

As for Syria, its position can be understood. The country suffered from Israeli aggression. Israel annexed the Golan Heights and settled its 15,000 citizens there. Syria and Israel argue on who should yield first: either to recognize Israel first and then begin negotiations on the Golan Heights, or Israel should return the Golan Heights first and then Syria will recognize it. Compromises and concessions are evidently possible here. However, the matter is complicated by Syria having a grudge against Israel.

Lebanon has not its own stand, though the problem of returning the Israeli-controlled "security zone" to it seems most simple and easily solvable. If Lebanon can guarantee that its territory will not be used for attacks on Israeli villages, it will most likely retrieve the southern part of its territory.

The point is, however, that, having achieved internal peace, Lebanon has lost its independence to a considerable degree. It could be regarded as a "fraternal unity" with Syria, of course. But it seems that the "big brother" strongly influences Lebanon's foreign policy and, to a great extent, its domestic policy too.

The Lebanese leadership has managed to end the civil war, disarm the militia, and form a united army. But it did not disarm the terrorist Hezbollah group active in the south of the country. With the help of lavish pay-offs this group recruits supporters among the local Shiites. However, Hezbollah can now be regarded not only as a pro-Iranian but also a pro-Syrian organization. According to trustworthy information, the Lebanese leadership did not disarm it on Syria's advice. Isn't it strange that the release of hostages siezed by Hezbollah was negotiated in Teheran and Damascus? The kidnapping and killing of peaceful civilians have long been a favourite occupation of this terrorist group formed by Iran. At present, the Iranian leaders apparently want to dissociate themselves from the organization established by them. However, Syria did not express such a desire. I shall not guess whether at the prompting of Damascus or without it Hezbollah tried to provoke a new war in the Middle East shortly before the February round of talks began in Washington. In any case, it is disquieting that the organization now has missiles.

Having suffered a repulse and lost its leader, Hezbollah gave up for some time its attempts to unleash a full-scale war, resuming the tactics of murdering peaceful civilians.

The extremist group seems to be merely a pawn in the political game of Damascus. If the peace process fails, Syria can use hit men for its political aims. If it brings long-awaited independence to the Palestinians, the need for this foreign group will disappear. The Hezbollah leaders are well aware of this and are now ready to go to great lengths to thwart any possibility of achieving independence by the Palestinian people.

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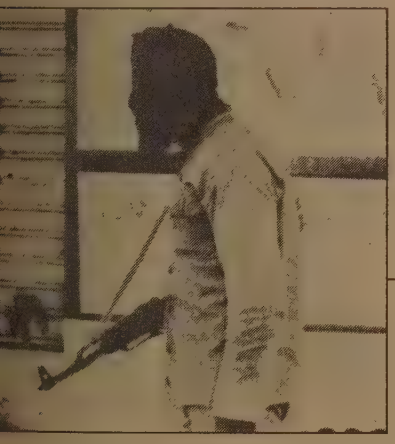

traitors to the holy struggle of the Arabs for their liberation," "Muhammad" replied tersely, like a serviceman would do, and handed me a thick file with documents. "You'll find here all data for the executions carried out in 1991."

"It appears that, while staying in peaceful Tunisia, a thousand miles away from Palestine, you arbitrarily decide whom to punish and whom to pardon."

"No, decisions are made on the spot. We only receive information about executions: when, where and for what offence... The right to take decisions on executions has been granted to underground resistance organizations. We in Tunisia merely analyze the situation and make our recommendations to the PLO leadership."

I opened the file. "Ninety-six traitors were executed in 1991," I read in it. Then follows a sad account: the name, age, sex, date of birth, place of residence, the charge, what organization carried out the sentence, the date and kind of execution. Among the organizations which carry out executions are parties affiliated to the PLO and its opponents such as Hamas and Al-Jihad Al-Islami and others.

"How would you explain blanks in some places?" I asked.

"In conditions of the relentless struggle against the Israeli occupation we are not always able to ascertain exactly what organization executed one or another traitor and for what offence. Mistakes can be made in our work too. It is impossible to completely rule out purely criminal factors, such as the squaring of accounts or vendettas. But *à la guerre comme à la guerre,*" "Muhammad" concluded in French.

"What recommendations do you make to the leadership?"

"We draw the attention of the PLO leadership to the fact that executions of this kind arouse grave concern among democrats in the occupied territories. Nevertheless, we believe that the practice of punishing traitors to the Palestinian revolution should be continued. As a matter of fact, your partisans also acted in the same way during the second world war. It is a different matter that registration and control are needed. They are important in our work."

"Muhammad" got up from the sofa, and the meeting was over.

Ivan Menshikov,
Russian Information Agency
Novosti correspondent exclusive for *New Times*
TUNISIA

New Times between Moscow and Pretoria

Our special correspondents Galina Sidorova and Nikolai Reshetnyak interview Russia's and South Africa's Foreign Ministers Andrei KOZYREV and Roelof BOTHA

Two *New Times* journalists are hastily moving furniture in a meeting hall at the President's headquarters where the South African Foreign Ministry is located, in search of the best place to seat the ministers. Our flutterings are watched by somewhat embarrassed Russian – and slightly less embarrassed South African diplomats.

This unusual scene, as well as the fact that the South African side obligingly lent us the ministers for an exclusive interview after the very first hour of their negotiations is by no means accidental – *New Times*, thanks to the incredible efforts made by Nikolai Reshetnyak, my colleague and co-interviewer, became the first Soviet organization represented in South Africa. During two years, thousands of South Africans, official and otherwise, desirous to establish trade and cultural relations with the Union, moved by business interest or mere curiosity, passed through our office. By the irony of fate, even the first Soviet student in South Africa was Ivan, son of *New Times* analyst Dmitry Zgersky, who purposefully made his way to the University of Capetown through the red tape of Soviet ministries.

Generally speaking, it is a pleasure to realize that *New Times* made a modest contribution to the encounter of Roelof Botha, one of the world's long standing foreign ministers in office (over 15 years), with Andrei Kozyrev, one of his youngest counterparts, who met to establish diplomatic relations – in other words, normal international relations – between Russia and South Africa.

The path of the Russian Minister, who managed to reach Pretoria, as well as of his predecessors who had promoted this accomplishment in their own ways, was not laid with roses. Many obstacles persist to this day, from the times when the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee reigned supreme in foreign policy, preferring to convince both itself and others that there were no changes in South Africa, as there were none in the Party headquarters.

Opinions divided at the hearing at the Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations and the Human Rights Committee of Russia's Supreme Soviet pending the Minister's trip to South Africa: some delegates said that it was already too late to establish diplomatic relations, while others insisted that it was too early – apartheid is still there; when they adopt a new constitution, they reasoned, and hold elections, only then should we proceed with establishing diplomatic relations. The formula worked out by Russian diplomacy is, in our opinion, the most discreet – cooperation with all forces participating in the process of democratization in South Africa, the would-be opposition included.

President de Klerk was in his time compared to the Moscow reformer, Mikhail Gorbachev. It so happened that the time of de Klerk's visit to Moscow prepared amidst great hardships almost exactly coincided with the collapse of the Union. De Klerk cancelled his December visit. Government circles tried to figure out how strong and stable the new – this time, Russia's – state power was. Common sense soon prevailed. The sharpness of Boris Yeltsin's political profile which, in the opinion of South African politicians, made him an extremist rather than a reformer, was, after the torrential period of assuming the state office as Russia's President, smoothed in their eyes. Pretoria came to believe in Moscow reforms.

The recent developments both in this country and in South Africa emphasized one more time the similarity between them – the lack of centrist forces. Conservative MPs of the former group Soyuz are going to start one more political battle against Russian Administration on March 17. Urged by his own conservatives, President de Klerk was forced to schedule for the same date a referendum of confidence in his cabinet of reforms. It is true though that Frederik de Klerk is confident that he will win and, consequently, will be able to lead the country towards a new constitution and the ultimate abolition of apartheid.

For all that, South Africa is a unique state. It isn't a country of colonialists. Rather, it is a country of Whites who, having lived here for several generations, managed to turn it into a prosperous giant accounting for some 40 percent of the Black Continent's industrial output. It is a marvellous European state which has been thrown by historical storms to Africa's remotest corner. At the same time, it is a country of Blacks, because they have built what it is now under the guidance of Whites.

But why does it so persistently seek contact with half-empoverished and sick Russia? Is this motivated by political interests alone – the desire to finally break through the circle of international isolation (though the Security Council sanctions with regards to military cooperation and transference of technology have not been cancelled as yet)? And are we motivated by a purely economic interest – an attempt to hold onto a promising and rich partner? Or could it be Moscow's and Pretoria's common desire to return, following a new path and leaning on each other, to those countries in southern Africa where we so ingloriously engaged in communist construction while they fought there for the sake of consolidating the regime of apartheid at home? Probably, all of this taken together. This is the theme of our interview with the Ministers.

Andrei Kozyrev and Roelof Botha meet *NT* correspondents

Photo by Vitaly Churkin

New Times. There are enough of both advocates and opponents of diplomatic relations between Russia and South Africa, of developing normal contacts between them. There is a certain political risk in what you are undertaking. Why have you decided to take the risk?

Roelof Botha. Everything in life, of course, is a risk, but the worst thing we can do is to do nothing. And the worst thing is not to recognize the important changes that have occurred in both our countries. I've studied the Russian Constitution, and I know what's happening in Russia. And I cannot find a single important principle on which we don't agree. We agree on all the fundamental principles of democracy: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, the right to possess property, a market-oriented economic system, a multi-party democracy. So you have now, in Pretoria and in Moscow, as a result of a dramatic historical confluence of events, two governments that are not separated any more by any ideological or political differences. So we rediscover ourselves, and, in my opinion, there is full opportunity to explore many areas of cooperation.

Andrei Kozyrev. Our major task is to demolish the ruins of the old systems we have had. For all the differences between them, one of them totalitarian and the other racist, they were both inacceptable. Both our teams, both governments are taking risks primarily in their own countries. The opposition we have to face is very similar in South Africa and in Russia. We have Communist orthodoxy here and in South Africa as well. And on the other hand, there is a reactionary, orthodox racist opposition in South Africa. These extreme forms of nationalism are as inacceptable as totalitarian communism. These two extremes meet. As a matter of fact, we face the same challenge in Russia now. Both diehard Communists and conservative nationalists believe that they can save the country, denying other people elementary human rights. We learn from each other's experience. You have learned from ours that communism has no future, and we have learned from yours that a racist state can't have a future either. A certain success is possible in some separate domains at best, but then, at the same time, a mine is laid under the entire society which is going to explode one day. I think that we are basically on the same path, and the relations between our countries must have a normal form of expression, i.e. diplomatic relations.

N.T. What do each of you expect from your counterpart?

Kozyrev. We have already met in Moscow, and from that moment I had a strong conviction that we are like-minded people. Our negotiations in Pretoria only strengthened this conviction. We have established good personal relations, we feel mutual trust.

Botha. The most important thing for me is mutual trust and understanding, and confidence in each other's objectives. We fully accept the Russian leaders' sincerity and integrity and their aspiration to build a new Russia. We would like you to trust us too. This is essential. So far I've had no problems during my meetings and discussions with my Russian friends. I believe that we are more alike than we think, and that not only leaders, but common people will get on very well with one another. The long years of separation have not changed the people's nature, their temperament and ways. There are so many fields of cooperation waiting for us. Russia and South Africa have very rich deposits of critical metals. We can explore right now the possibilities of cooperation in the fields of technology, mining and trade. South Africans are fond of Russian music, opera, ballet, your works of art, poetry, etc. So you can see that there is a vast area of cooperation waiting for us.

N.T. What can prevent us from developing the relations between our countries as desired?

Botha. Well, Minister Kozyrev has already referred to it: if in this country either the radical right wing or the radical left wing take power, this country is doomed. The same applies to Russia. The reforms we have started are irrevocable. If we try to stop them now, both governments will destroy themselves.

Kozyrev. I would like to mention one more circumstance common to both our countries. Russia is rich in its diversity of religions, cultures and ethnic groups. The same can be said with regard to South Africa. I'm looking forward to meeting with the great man of our century — Nelson Mandela who, so to speak, represents another side of this great society. To my mind, this diversity provides a good basis for cooperation and mutual understanding.

There is one more — regional — dimension to relations between Russia and South Africa. For years we have confronted each other in southern Africa. It was partly due to communist expansionism. Now our military is leaving the region. South African policy has also changed. Our delegation has just visited Angola where a process of na-

At the turn of the century, Russians joined the European Legion to ally with the Boers against the British. General W.J. Kolbe and Colonel Yevgeny Maximov

Photo from South African Panorama

tional reconciliation is going on with assistance from both sides – Russia and South Africa, thanks to their having abandoned the militant political course. We can help this region politically, and later economically. Angola is also a very rich country. We could start trilateral projects there, thanks to the simple fact that, for good or for bad, as a result of prolonged Soviet presence in Angola, there are many people there who were trained in Russia and who can speak Russian. The South African side could extend Angola technological and financial aid. Our relations have also dimensions outside this region.

N.T. Do you envisage a possibility for conflict of Russian and South African interests on the African continent?

Botha. No, because the ideological confrontation has ended. The road is completely open for cooperation, joint ventures supplementing one another. I would welcome business people of your country to open their business in South Africa. And from here you can spread your wings to our neighbours. You will find a good infrastructure here. A wonderful thing has occurred. The ideological conflict and confrontation were replaced by mutual interest. On top of it, I believe that few governments in the world can be in a better position to understand President Yeltsin's tremendous efforts than we are, because both our countries are going through a transformation phase. The two governments and the two peoples face the same challenges, and hardships and pain, and they can support each other in a more lasting way.

Kozyrev. I completely agree with you. There is hardly anyone to better understand the hardships your government and Mr de Klerk have to face than our government and President Yeltsin, especially now that Mr de Klerk's reforms are confronted by a tide of opposition. We have a similar situation, and I think that it is the right moment to unite our efforts in order to show the people in Russia, as well as in South Africa, that there is only one road which is beneficial both internally and externally. As for conflicts of interests, I do not rule them out altogether. But this will be an absolutely different type of conflict having nothing to do with ideological confrontation.

Botha. It's healthy.

Kozyrev. I would call it competition, which is a normal thing. Democracy is not a paradise, it doesn't deliver society from conflicts, rather it furnishes civilized and mutually beneficient means of settling conflicts.

Botha. Peaceful means, I would say.

N.T. In a sense, Russia and South Africa are hostages of their totalitarian past. Do you think that the process of establishing new relations between the two states, a rapprochement, will be able to influence the course of reforms in our countries?

Botha. Yes, it's evident. I often use as an example the events in the former Soviet Union and the dilemmas the Russian government is confronted with, in order to warn my compatriots against making the same mistakes. That's on the one hand. And on the other hand, we need each other to strengthen one another, because the objectives we want to achieve are objectives generally accepted worldwide as civilized and democratic. And lastly, the more the governments that feel alike or support one another so that the concept of democracy, freedom and fundamental rights can take firm root, the more helpful it will be for the world. But if we remain fragmented and separated, and the forces of democracy are defeated, nobody in the world will benefit from it.

Kozyrev. I would like to make one important thing clear: we regard the establishing of diplomatic relations between Russia and South Africa, our rapprochement with South Africa, not as a rejection of democratic principles and of the principle of condemnation of apartheid and of national extremism, but on the contrary, as an opportunity to struggle together against these monsters of the 20th century.

N.T. Our last question is not a political one. What would you like to see in South Africa and in Russia outside the diplomatic protocol?

Botha. I am fond of Russian traditional folk music. The sadness of your music has always attracted me. Even here in South Africa, when I go on long journeys I play tape-recording of your choirs. I would lilke, first of all, to visit concerts in Moscow. There are many historic places in Moscow I would like to visit, but incognito, as an ordinary human being.

Kozyrev. And I would like to see and to really feel the variety of cultures and ways of life mixed together in this country. And also I would probably like to have a look at your famous national parks.

Botha. By the way, in Pretoria, there is one of our best Zoos, and the man in charge of it has deals with Moscow in this particular field...

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Secrets of the "country house of longevity"

Ivan Shomov

Last September, a 38-year-old North Korean diplomat, Ko Yong Hwang, fled to South Korea. In Pyongyang, he headed a department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Hwang, who had the rank of first secretary, was in the diplomatic service for 14 years.

At a press conference in Seoul, the former diplomat revealed some details from the life of the North Korean elite previously unknown to the world. Pyongyang refuted what the deserter had said about it, labelling him as "a bastard who led a depraved life."

Every year, on April 15, the birthday of Kim Il Sung, a colossal monument is erected on "the festive occasion" to "perpetuate the unfading services" of the "great leader." Several dozen memorial complexes devoted to "the immortal revolutionary services" of Kim Il Sung and his elder son Kim Jong Il have already been built in North Korea. Kim Jong Il is revered by the people as "a dear leader and an outstanding continuer of the chuchae revolutionary cause" (reliance on the people's own forces) initiated by his father.

Impressive in size, the monuments differ little from each other in their artistic design. The "most humane of all people" is usually sculpted with a red banner in his hands, at the head of a small group of associates. Monuments of this kind imply that the "great leader" (Kim Il Sung) and the "dear leader" (his son Kim Jong Il) have no other desire in their lives but "the struggle for the bright future of the Korean people" and the building of "chuchae socialism" on the ancient land of Korea.

This year the North Koreans will receive not only a monument as a gift from their "great leader." Kim Il Sung decided to mark the 80th anniversary of his birth by the distribution of consumer goods among the people. The gift will cost the treasury a billion dollars. It is not yet known, however, whether the government has such a sum.

Photo from Time (USA)

"Unusual deeds"

In his guiding work, the official 50-year-old successor of the "great leader," Kim Jong Il likes to do "unusual deeds." For instance, when he learned that a triplets were born in the town of Nampho, gifts were hurriedly dispatched to a happy mother. The family was given a large flat. Experienced doctors were sent too. The babies were provided with clothes for the next ten years. The father and the mother of the newly born were decorated with orders.

Where lobsters, cognac and caviar for the North Korea leaders are bought

Such occasions usually happen once a year, and they are widely publicized in the media as an example of Kim Jong Il's love for his compatriots. At the same time, most of the North Korean hospitals do not have elementary drugs and syringes.

Kim Jong Il, who is said to take over the entire power of his father in the near future, is considered a solicitous, approachable and modest leader. He wears Mao-style jackets. Of small stature, he likes cowboy boots with high heels. His style of work – "on-the-spot guidance" – is a highly perfected

nethod of Kim senior. Kim Jong Il seldom ddresses official meetings, though the exts of the speeches are prepared for him n every occasion. He prefers to give orders nd instructions by word of mouth through is narrow circle.

Kim junior's entourage includes first of ll O Jin U, the Minister of People's Armed Forces, who was treated for a long time in Moscow after a night accident, Kil Jae Gyong, deputy head of the Party's interna- ional department (when Kil was North Korea's ambassador to Sweden, he became nvolved in a drug trafficking scandal here), as well as his personal photographer nd tailor, who exert considerable influence n state affairs.

Ko Young Hwang told journalists about he ceremony of opening a hard-currency hop, "Kenheun," in Pyongyang. Kim Jong l, he alleged, was accompanied by 60 friends. After the cere- nony was over, he offered them o take articles they liked, ad- ling that he would pay for hem. At first the guests took ecktie and watches, but then, ollowing their patron's offer, hey began to take TV sets and ideo-cameras. Kim Jong Il or- lered that a 20,000-dollar bill hould be forwarded to the economic and financial depart- nent of the Party's Central Committee.

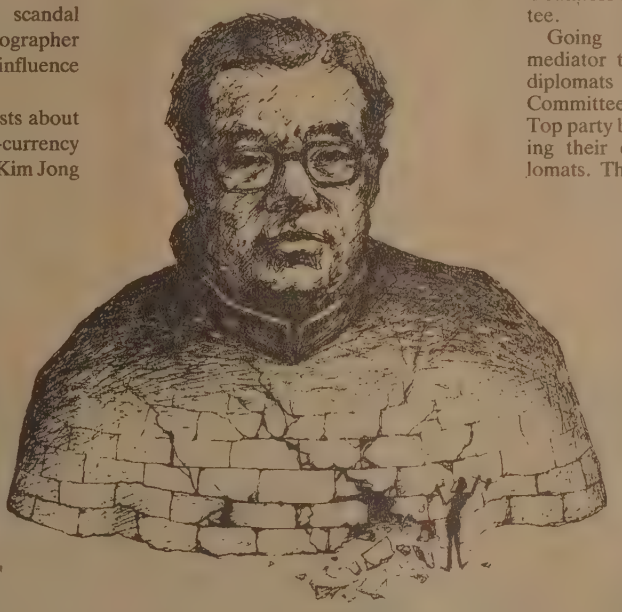
A number of services are re- ponsible only for the diet of the wo Kims. For instance, the Amisang group (named after a ill near Pyongyang, a code ame) buys food and goods ab- oad: the top brands of cognac n France, chocolate and other weets in Belgium, lobsters in Norway, cav- ar and smoked foods in the Soviet Union, ruit in Tunisia, Algeria and Portugal. All hese foods are sent from North Korean em- bassies and missions to Moscow and then, by a special plane to Pyongyang. The cargo s marked "Amisang Articles."

There are also "Articles No. 100" – oreign, mainly Hollywood feature films which Kim Jong Il likes to see. Of the 80- odd residences in the most picturesque places of North Korea, Kim Il Sung and his son prefer the "country house of ongevity" at Chamosang. This unique tructure with an area of 250,000 square metres was built in seven years. Imported naterials, primarily Japanese, were used n the construction. The expenditure made up the annual budget of the Ministry of Construction.

Thirty to forty young girls permanently ive in almost every residence, and the Chamosang country house is not an excep- ion in this respect. Nearly all Party or- ganizations, from the Central Committee to provincial committees, take part in the selection of these girls. The winners of the Party-sponsored "beauty contests" are taken on the staff of the President's body- guards and given the rank of a junior lieutenant.

At the age of 25, girls are put on the re- tired list. Before that husbands are found for them, usually from among single body- guards. A young couple is settled in a re- mote area from which they are not given the right to leave. However, the state takes care of the former guards. They receive pensions and food rations.

Ko Yong Hwang also told journalists about such a purely North Korean notion as "money of sincerity" collected by North Koreans working abroad as a token of their devotion to Kim Il Sung and his son. Money is collected by everyone – the Ambassador, trade representative and diplomats. The general shadowing rules out shirking. The inscription on an envelope usually runs like this: "I'm sending this money in the desire to help the Party's great plans for improving the life of the people."



Drawing from the book Human Rights in North Korea

To compensate for the expenses and, simultaneously, to "help" themselves, dip- lomats resort to speculation. For instance, the North Korean Ambassador to Bangladesh dealt in bras trading. Taking advantage of diplomatic immunity, he brought them in his trunk from Thailand and sold them with a profit in Bangladesh. Other diplomats bought cheap video tape- recorders in Abu Dhabi and sold them at an exorbitant price in Karachi.

The North Korean secret services watches every step of North Korean citi- zens, not only within the country and not only in embassies. Chang Ki Hong, a 29- year-old worker who fled to South Korea, was employed under a contract at a timber enterprise in Siberia. His bosses once learned that he listened to South Korean radio. Chang Ki Hong was interrogated for a long time and beaten.

"Wedding by parcel"

The fugitive diplomat, Ko Yong Hwang, also revealed how the private life of a North Korean is arranged under the careful super- vision of the two Kims.

If a fellow and a girl love each other and are going to marry, special intermediary services find out where their parents and re- latives work and whether there are runa- ways among them. Ko Yong Hwang alleged that the marriages of 90 percent of staff members of the North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs were arranged through mediators and the Party's Central Commit- tee.

Going abroad, a diplomat asks a mediator to arrange a marriage. Usually diplomats address the head of a Central Committee department or higher officials. Top party bureaucrats are not averse to giv- ing their daughters in marriage to dip- lomats. They make inquiries in this case, because the rank of the parents of a fiancé must be adequate to that of the parents of a bridegroom.

The practice of "wedding by parcel" is widespread in the North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs. For instance, a diplomat had no time to marry and went abroad. His bosses from a special department will find a bride, issue a foreign passport for her and send her to the future husband. The dip- lomat concerned is told to meet the girl at the airport. He does not even suspect that she is his bride. On the same day, return- ing from work, he finds her in his flat.

If the young people like each other, no special problems arise. The lawful marriage is consummated. If one of them displays obs- tinacy, the Ambassador locks them in a room and leaves them without food and water for three days until they change their minds.

* * *

It cannot be said that all North Koreans meekly fulfil the instructions and recipes of the "great leader" and the "dear leader." Hardly a month passes without a North Ko- rean fleeing to the South. However, in North Korea there is no opposition as such, and nor can there be. According to recent reports of the Western human rights organi- zations Asia Watch and Freedom House, North Korea has at least 12 camps called "rehabilitation centres," or forced labour camps in which about 150,000 political pris- oners are held. The authorities keep vigil- ant watch on the population, dividing it into three categories and 51 sub-categories de- pending on the degree of loyalty to Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il.

Shin Sang Ok, a South Korean film direc- tor who served a term in a North Korean prison, recalled: "In the North, I heard an open criticism of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il only from those who were taken out for execution."

Democracy is not for

Yevgeny Rusakov,
NT correspondent

The standard criticism of American political scientists that the elections in America usually come down to a battle of personalities and not platforms, is mostly true. The Republicans and Democrats aren't parties in the usual sense of the word: anyone who registers can become a member without paying any dues and possibly not even agreeing with the platform of the party. And the platform is often forgotten practically the day after it was adopted. Actually, the two main parties in America have been created for one purpose – to assure the victory of its candidate at the elections.

The presidential candidates put each other down and bring up others' love affairs

A boom to the Bolero

Our acquaintance with the candidates began with the most famous of them – the President who only put in one day of his own time in the primary battle in New Hampshire. George Bush decided to use the authority of his presidential post as his main argument and let his important state accomplishments, while he was in the White House, speak for themselves.

The main election meeting in Pinkerton Academy took place in a big gym decorated with the traditional blue, red and white balloons and ribbons of the three colours of the American flag. Melodies in major keys thundered and the school orchestra in red uniforms even played the Bolero. There was a holiday mood.

Bush was enthusiastically greeted with the shouts: "Bush–Quayle '92!" and "Four more years!" He tried to speak with feeling and with humour. It was one of his most effective speeches. The President stressed that America had never turned its back on the challenge. And now, in spite of all the difficulties, the best times for America were still ahead, and the nation is ready to move forward to meet the American destiny. The President assured Americans that the economy was picking up, that his plan is exactly what is needed: stimuli for businesses to invest in equipment and increase the number of jobs, a tax credit for first-time home buyers, cutting government's programs and the like. None of the other candidates have such a "key." Bush has criticized the crowd of liberal democrats in Congress who keep on putting his plan off.

But it was Buchanan who took it on the ear most of all. The President didn't mention him by name, partly because he wanted to show his superiority, partly because he didn't want to alienate the conservative Republican voters. Some, said Bush, have come out for protectionism and, ignoring economic realities, call for "fight back." But the national symbol of America is not the ostrich, but the eagle. Never in the history of America has it turned its back on the challenge. The American worker will outthink, outproduce, and outcompete any other. The President expressed indignation over the "flat-out lies" about his economic plan.

The next day Patrick Buchanan gave his reply "to Chamberlain," having arranged a press conference before the entrance to the Palace movie theatre. A couple dozen of his supporters with dilated pupils like a drug addict made as much racket as the whole audience in the gym at the Pinkerton Academy.

Buchanan is thickset with bluish-black hair and fierce as a true Irishman. When he laughs, his face wrinkles. He spouts aphorisms and speaks with the enthusiasm of an evangelist. It came as a surprise to the TV and press people, among whom there are many arrant snobs in America, that Buchanan managed to be quite simple and natural, coming off well even in comparison to some of the Democrats.

Mixing with ordinary people is not the most favourite occupation of George Bush

The main object of his vicious attacks is George Bush. It was Bush, he says, that promised to immediately lower the taxes on the middle class, and then submitted this proposal to Congress for approval. Bush's tax plan is a classical example of the bait-and-switch. Bush runs a sting operation on the people of the United States...

What is Buchanan hoping to gain? At first he wanted to scare Bush and force him to take a more conservative tack. But appetite comes when you sit down at the table.

the weaknerved

"Will Buchanan strive to become the nominee of the Republican Party?" I asked his sister who is in charge of his campaign, when the results of the first primary had become known.

"Of course. We'll fight right up to the very party convention and during it," answered Angela Buchanan, a big-eyed energetic woman with sharp features. She impressed all the journalists with her quick and clear answers.

With the end of the "cold war" and the fall of the Soviet empire, the cement that made for the unity of the conservatives and the moderate Republicans – anti-communism – is gone. The fiery tirades of Buchanan are driving a wedge between these two groups of Republican politicians and the voters. The attacks of the journalist-politician on Bush are more telling than the criticism dished out by the Democrats.

A lot of extremists came to meetings with Buchanan. When the rabbi Ave Weiss showed up in the stripped outfit of a Nazi prisoner with a placard protesting the anti-Semitic slurs of Buchanan, he was put in his place. But the majority of those who came were moderate Republicans who were unhappy with the economic policy of the White House and the absence of a strong leader and who were pessimistic about the future of the country. During the primaries, eight percent of the Republicans voted for Democrats (this is possible in America), and more than a third of those who have given their vote to Buchanan intend to vote for a Democratic presidential nominee.

In short, the results of the primaries in New Hampshire raised grave doubts about Bush's chances to remain in the White House for a second term. The battle in November promises to be between equals and therefore its outcome is unpredictable.

The pie must be expanded

New surprises lie ahead. But if nothing improbable happens (alas, that is sometimes so in American politics), the next president of the USA will probably be one of three contenders – George Bush, Paul Tsongas or Bill Clinton. True, among the Democrats people still hope that someone popular like the governor of New York Mario Cuomo will enter the race. But registration of the candidates in the primaries in the majority of states is already over, and at the conventions the candidates will rather agree among themselves (this would be especially easy for Tsongas and Clinton to do) than give away their hard-won votes to some party bronze.

The biggest surprise was the success of Tsongas. The former senator of Massachusetts even now, after his victory in New Hampshire, has admitted that he dreamed about the post of Vice-President and became a candidate only because the party "heavyweights" hadn't done so. He had been sick with cancer and was on the verge of giving up, but after a successful operation he conquered the disease. This gave Tsongas an almost religious purposefulness in life. Everyone speaks of his honesty, integrity and ability to keep his word.

But Tsongas has one seemingly small deficiency right off: he doesn't look like a president. The former senator is short, speaks sometimes with an almost apologizing voice (according to one of his former classmates, in childhood he had a speech defect), and walks heavily. When he is tired, he looks frail and at the same time puffy.

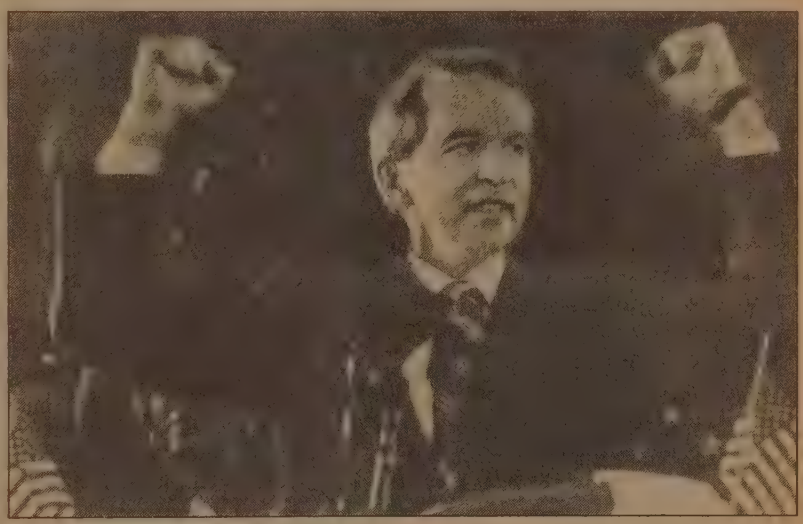
For a long time Tsongas lagged behind the other candidates in the polls. Literally just a few days before the primaries in New Hampshire, he and especially his press secretary Peggy Connolly couldn't get their bearings from the almost unexpected luck that fell their way.

"Our success is connected with our message. The primaries in New Hampshire are not just a popularity contest or an event for the press. But we have money problems," Tsongas told the journalists at the three-storey red brick building of the local TV studio. "Could we beat Bush? Yes, if we stick to the middle in economic policy. Usually an American assumes that the Republicans understand economics better than the Democrats. We must disprove that view. I think that my economic plan is much better than Bush's."

The small, slender, almost like a girl, Peggy Connolly in a plain red sweater even asked for advice from the journalists.

Tsongas' last election meeting was held in the crowded ballroom of the Ramada Inn in Concord, the capital of New Hampshire. The candidate said that there were two planks in the democratic platform. The first one was concern for social problems, civil rights, the right of women to have abortions, and the rights of homosexuals. The second is where there must be a real turnabout – the economy. The Democrats must reject their usual anti-business class workers protectionism. It's necessary to expand the economic pie, to have such an economic policy that it would create jobs. You can't love employment and hate employers. The goal: perfect the motor – industry. George Bush couldn't preserve the values which our ancestors handed down to us: he left the inheritance tax to the future generation.

By American standards, his speech was dry, and the senator isn't known for being a good speaker. He says honestly that he doesn't intend to be Santa Claus with a bag of gifts and unlike Clinton and other Democrats comes out against lowering the taxes on the middle class. In American politics such extraordinary openness is far from always encouraged.



Paul Tsongas: We can beat Bush

Photo from Newsweek (USA)

...and the striking blonde Gennifer

Tsongas' main rival, Bill Clinton has a powerful, well-running campaign outfit: his headquarters in Manchester are two times bigger than that of Bush and three to five times bigger than the rest of the candidates'. Clinton has a lot of support in the South.

All was going very well until they started to play the old "Caught in the act" tune which knocked Gary Hart out of the running eight years ago. For 150,000 dollars a former cabaret singer, the striking blonde Gennifer Flowers, told one of the trash newspapers about her romance with the governor which supposedly lasted 12 years. Clinton didn't deny that he had been on good terms with this "flower" (she worked in the governor's office), but insisted he had never committed adultery with her. On TV together with his wife Hillary, he admitted they had had family problems in the past.

That was the way things stood before we met for the first time with Bill Clinton. The occasion, an evening party, was called "a sweetheart dance." Jokes about cabaret girls rolled off the tongues of the journalists, whose profession inevitably cultivates healthy cynicism. Furthermore, the event was taking place in a... synagogue. All, including Clinton and the Japanese correspondent, put on little skull caps when performing in front of the public.

Clinton went out on the stage and in a hoarse voice due to a cold and too many speeches, began to joke about becoming the champion in overcoming hurdles, and maybe the first and last time in life had heard the traditional "Hail to President!" performed for him. The forty-five-year-old governor in the spirit of the evening played the clown and at that moment it became particularly clear why the journalists have called him Elvis. Clinton has a habit of curling his lips a little just like the king of rock-and-roll. And he is youngish, blue-eyed, and he has a thick head of hair parted on the side. The governor reminds many of John Kennedy. He doesn't conceal that his idols in his youth were Kennedy and Elvis Presley.

"Governor, does it bother you that outward hurdles, as you put it, distract the voters' attention from the real issues?" I asked.

"Of course it does, but the voters are trying to take back the elections on the main issues," said Clinton. "The trouble is I came from far away and am actually an outsider. I began to campaign later than the others. So the voters don't know me. It was harder for them to sort things out when I was slandered. Recently we organized visits by people from my home state who could stand up for me and speak with the local voters. I feel we are turning it around, but I don't know whether we did it in time. On the whole, I'm satisfied."

I was struck by how different Clinton was. Before me was a serious businesslike politician. He looked me straight in the eyes and gave the impression of being sincere and well-wishing. The governor was always ready to answer any question and did so very well. In spite of his southern roots, he studied at the prestigeous Yale University and at Oxford. He has been to Europe and Asia.

And again a totally different Clinton spoke at the last election meeting – a superb speaker able to move the people, somewhat reminiscent of the evangelist Billy Graham. He used sweeping gests, and in one breath expressively uttered whole paragraphs even if he was speaking about such matter-of-fact things as taxes.

He began with the President: "Unlike George Bush, I don't believe that you can only remember about New Hampshire once every four years, like about the Olympic Games." Clinton, almost identical to Buchanan accused the President of cynicism since Bush had promised tax reductions for children in his "State of the Union Message," and in the draft of the budget forgot about them (after the criticism this was corrected by the White House).

His theme song was – plans are not what counts – though he himself has a plan. A plan is a piece of paper. The main thing is to carry out the plans and for that you need a strong leader. A national strategy, a plan of aciton is needed to be competitive on the world market. The Presidency, not the Congress, is a final centre of action, and the President must lead the country.

Each of the three main candidates for the chair in the White House has problems, and this is what makes the elections enigmatic and unpredictable. True, the Democrats have a solution – combining the leadership qualities and charisma of Bill Clinton with the incorruptibility, uprightness and pragmatism of Paul Tsongas as vice-president. But the Republicans are preparing a massive attack on the weak spots of both Democrats.

As Bush said, there's going to be a "dog fight." Democracy isn't for the weak-nerved.

MANCHESTER, NH–NEW YORK

No nuclear

President's nuke codes attache case is thus far indispensable

Under the heading "The mysteries of the nuclear button" in your issue No.4 for this year Alexei Arbatov deals with a crucial aspect of security, that of nuclear weapons control. The related instrument is the control system employed, as it is inadequate to talk merely of weaponry and its potential as such. Without an appropriate analysis of the aspects of control it is increasingly harder to assess the level of strategic stability and nuclear safety. Given the reduction of nuclear arms the control system plays a still greater role.

We understand your contributor's concern as regards reliability against chance or unsanctioned action, especially within the context of the worsening situation in this country. One will agree noting that the high level of preparedness of the system for "launching on warning" (the notorious nuke controls attache cases and nuclear button) is itself destabilizing. Hence it is essential to publicize the available guarantees against error which, if believed inadequate by the public, should necessarily be complemented.

Arbatov suggests completely rejecting nuclear retaliation by launching nuclear missiles upon warning that the other side has already done so.

This is difficult to do on the go. Firstly, it is long-high time generally to abandon the notion of dividing strikes into response and retaliation, but on the contrary, promote a unified strategy of deterrence. Secondly, the special leadership communciation systems existing de facto are developing and scarcely will their significance as regards information decrease over the foreseeable future. Finally, when assessing risk, any potential aggressor must necessarily count on the worst, that is retaliation from the victim.

It is not easy to devise a guaranteed international arrangement for blocking that system. We must firstly see for ourselves that the retained elements of the control system ensuring retaliation would be adequate and reliable deterrence.

With good reason your contributor notes that the theory of nuclear force control has the two notions: of "negative control," implying the prevention of an accidental missile launching, and of "positive control,

impotence as yet

implying the surety of a high level of preparedness as regards the use of nuclear weapon. The twins are inseparable except when defence against unsanctioned action eliminates the weapon as such. However, there is still a long way to go before that can be achieved. Even the recent very bold bids by the Russian and the US Presidents changed but little, as while the sides have at least a few missiles at hand the two-fold issue remains of how reliable defence against an accidental launching is and how great a risk the potential aggressor runs. This comprises what we may term the double blocking of the nuclear threat.

Though this is all long known, to this day there is no clearly defined coordinated quantification of these two aspects of nuclear security. Enhanced reliable defence against an unsanctioned attack should not nullify the risk for the potential aggressor. Thus we have introduced a procedure whereby the presidents of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan coordinate decision-taking should a counterstrike using nuclear weapons be required. This naturally lowers the efficiency of the control system and hence diminishes the degree of risk the aggressor runs. Should we be afraid of that? It is quite likely that the degree of reliability was so high that even the new level of risk would offer a reliable deterrent. Would it be reasonable in this event to continue along this line by barring, for instance, the technical facilities the both sides have for effecting a launching upon warning? The pros and cons need to be sized, however, only after open coordinated methods are evolved.

Drawing by Victor Bogorad

We hear that the very deterrence notion is anachronistic. Who is there to restrain, when nobody would seem to want to attack us. Why, then, did the Russian Federation President qualify in his respective decree the new type of armed forces as strategic deterrence? Why does the term keep cropping up again and again in statements made by leaders of every rank here and abroad? Apparently because the very notion derives from the factual existence of nuclear weapons. While such weapons exist, the likelihood of their use continues. When protection against an accidental launching is mentioned, this would seem to imply that we, considering our current situation, comprise the subject implied. We all well realize that in the event of aggression by us, even if by chance, retaliation is bound to ensue. Hence meant is self-deterrence, protection against ourselves.

In the USA the issue of avoiding unsanctioned action is not that acute, as conditions are more peaceful. But what about the degree of risk it runs should it commit aggression? At a cursory glance this would seem so much idle talk. Today it would be extremely naive to assume that the USA would suddenly deliver a massive nuclear strike. It will never do that even for ecological reasons. Still, the more entangled and muddled the situation as regards our nuclear weapons, the greater the concern Americans display as how to change this situation. Unless we consent to agreed international control, but act independently, forcible action may be envisaged as radical. This of course would not be a massive nuclear strike, but something in the way of the seizure of nuclear bases or decapitation of the control system. However, even that may provoke a nuclear conflict.

The danger is aggravated by developments in the erstwhile USSR generating the illusion of nuclear impotence. Indeed, nuclear arsenals have been divvied up amongst the independent states and decision-taking procedures are now more complex. We increasingly resemble a dangerous, but weak neighbour against whom a strike may be hazarded. Actually the likelihood of a counterstrike by us remains even in the most intricate of situations. Hence the USA also needs a deterrent.

To date international cooperation has focussed on the problems of "negative control" and has in effect overlooked aspects of "positive control" and the degree of risk they guarantee as regards a potential aggressor. Sooner or later this lop-sided approach will markedy upset the equilibrium and hence lower the level of nuclear security. Nor in effect is there any concerted method for evaluating the level of risk. Nowadays it is already not enough to compare possible mutual damage. What is also required is to take into consideration the likelihood of one or another degree of retaliation. Definitive here is the control system with its efficiency, dependability and structure.

In principle nuclear weapons may be used in but two cases. Either for blackmail and attack, or as a deterrent. There is no other alternative. While nuclear weapons exist the likelihood of the first option must be ruled out completely. There Alexei Arbatov is absolutely right. However this Number One objective will be accomplished evidently when nuclear potentials are completely abolished. Until that is done, and while there continue to exist the slightest of loop-holes for blackmail and aggression, the second barrier, implying the awareness of risk, should stand in the way.

All further nuclear disarmament will only increase the significance this approach has. Assessments of this order are essential for reducing nuclear potentials and lowering the level of preparedness by restricting alert systems. This will be necessary also should Russia join NATO or should new European alliances emerge as given such mutual assessment, such alliances will be all the firmer. However, this will at least call for civilized behaviour from partners. The idea is, in effect, that of conscious control of nuclear disarmament. Because unless this is done, this process may take over and its own runaway development may have unpredictable consequences.

Col. *Valery Yarynich*,
Cand. Sc. (Military Art)

Maj. *Leonid Nikhayev*,
Cand. Sc. (Techn.),
Staff employees, General Staff Centre
for Operational Strategic Research

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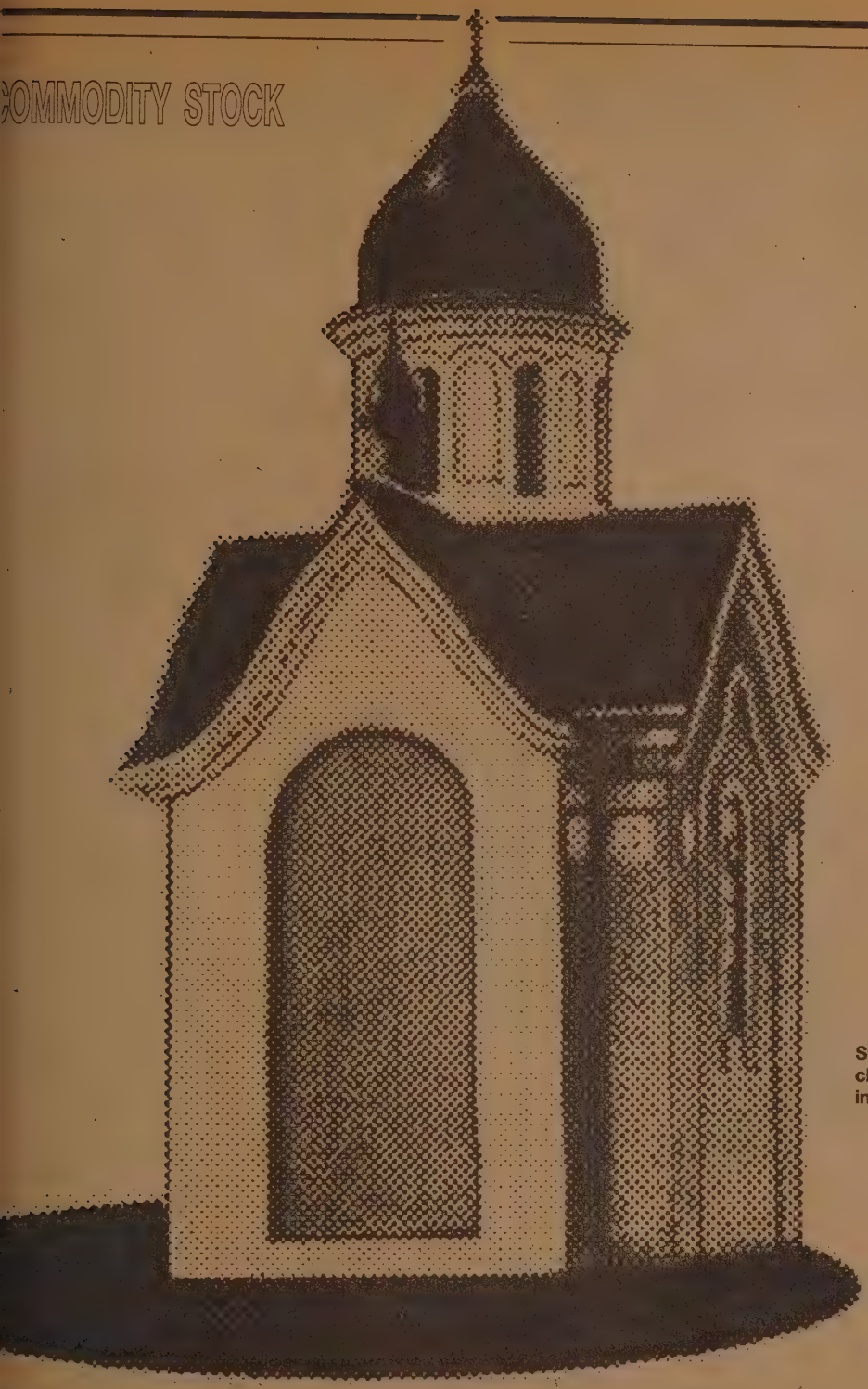

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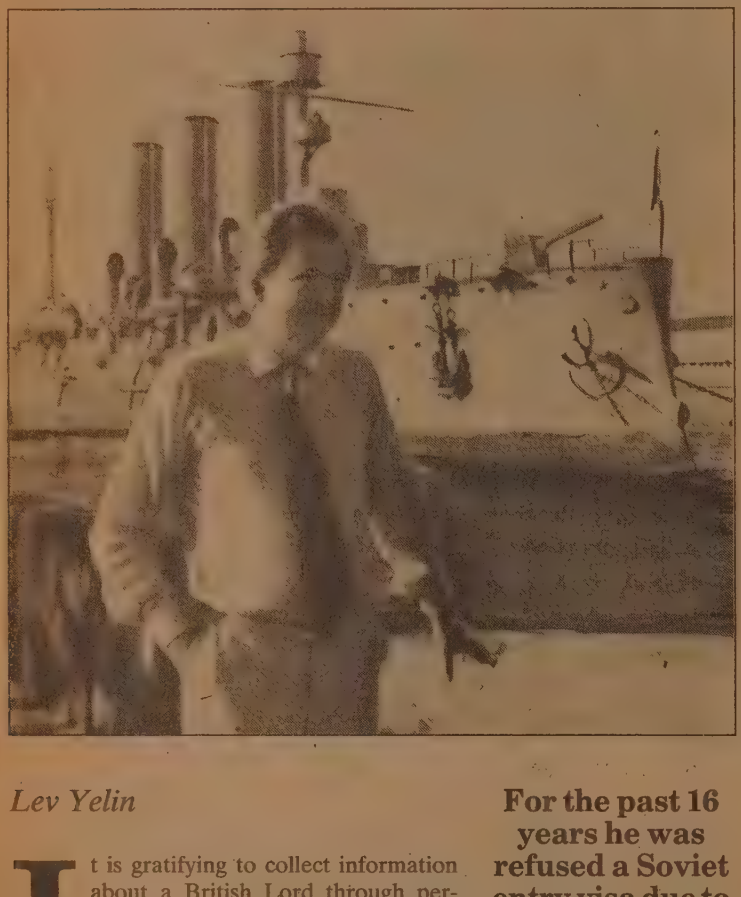
DESTINIES

Life of Lord Bethell



Lev Yelin

It is gratifying to collect information about a British Lord through personal contacts with the man, rather than from newspaper snippings or undercover agents' reports, as the KGB did, since a KGB man can't have the pleasure of savouring coffee served at the Lord's favourite retreat, the aristocratic Garrick's Club, where an armchair is exhibited, by the stairs, with a notice reading: "Here Sir Henry Irving breathed his last." Nor could a KGB man have a whisky at the House of Lords bar, having hung his coat on a peg labeled "Lord Bethell," b tween pegs marked for Lord Byron ar Lord Beaverbrook, or even have a stroll, the company of the Lord, in Hyde Par which is conveniently close to his favouri Indian restaurant and the pub frequente by the Lord and his sons.

For the past 16 years he was refused a Soviet entry visa due to the allegation that he was a spy, but Boris Yeltsin recently gave him a wrist watch as a present

Nicholas William Bethell, 53, is ver lord-like in appearance, with his mane hair turning grey, and prominent feature Dmitry Vasilyev, leader of the radic *Pamyat* organization of Russia nationalists, once "complemented" Lo Bethell who paid him a visit, curious abo that black-shirted Russian crank, upon th Lord's truly Arian blue-eyed exterio However, the Bethells don't have haunte ancestral castles dating to the time of th Wars of the Roses, in their family histor As a matter of fact, the title of the lo was given to Nicholas' grandfather – a MP and a successful businessman – 1922. As the title is inherited by the elde son, Nicholas got it in 1967. The title giv membership to the House of Lords whe people with aristocratic features, who a often advanced in years, vote by enterin the hall through one of the two doors, d pending on whether they vote in favour otherwise, and get paid £45 each for th voting.

Possession of the title spurred Nichol Bethell's political ambitions.

Anna Akhmatova reciting her poetry on the BBC

Nicholas Bethell has a degree from Cambrid University where he studied the Persian la guage. As a matter of fact, he had Latin an Greek already before Cambridge. In 1957, h decided against a military career and in favo of study of the Russian language. Profess Elisabeth Hill ("we called her Yelizave

Fyodorovna, after a Russian manner") was his Russian teacher. She is now 95.

"After World War II, neither the British armed forces nor the British civil service had Russian speakers apart from native Russians, émigrés," says Lord Bethell. "However, the latter couldn't be fully relied upon, because they were vulnerable to the Kremlin's possible pressure upon them, since they still had relatives back in the old country."

In case of a war with Russia, the British government would immediately call Bethell up. But this did not happen, and he says that he "never put his knowledge of Russian at the service of either the government or the army."

After Cambridge, Bethell spent two years on the staff of *The Times* of London, in its literary supplement section. In November 1962, he got the *Novy Mir* copy with Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch*. Right after reading it, Bethell wrote an enthusiastic review.

In 1964 Bethell got a job as a script editor at the BBC radio drama section. He staged a radio play after Pushkin's *The Captain's Daughter*. He also translated several verses by Iosif Brodsky and prepared a programme about the court trial of the latter.

1965, London was visited by Anna Akhmatova whom the Soviet authorities allowed to attend the ceremony of receiving Honoris Causa doctorate from Oxford. Nicholas invited the poet to come to the BBC. Says Bethell:

"Anna Akhmatova recited her verses, including the recently published *Requiem* poem. Suddenly I caught sight of three old women standing and quietly weeping in the recording room. They turned out to be Russian émigrés who managed to sneak into the studio upon learning about Akhmatova's visit there."

From Russia with... sorrow

Nicholas for the first time visited Russia in 1959, as one of a group of students. In 1966, he revisited the country with his wife (d.1977) on a car trip. The Bethells had to camp out for the night, because they couldn't afford accommodation at a hotel. In Leningrad, they visited Brodsky's place, but only Iosif's father was in.

"The man was cagey and obviously suspicious. However he said that his son was in Moscow and could be found through poet Surkov, a dignitary from the USSR Writers' Union."

Nicholas gave the father a volume of Iosif's verses in the English rendition (done by Nicholas himself). After a few years, the book found its way back to Bethell, by courtesy of Brodsky's friends, with a message in Iosif's hand: "From Russia with love and gratitude and with a sorrow, because these verses are so old. May 11, 1968."

Towards the end of that trip, the Bethells met with a more specific manifestation of Soviet reality than the intrusive and exasperating communist propaganda: in Brest, the border guards confiscated all books, documents, etc., including a letter from the father of the first Soviet defector, Alexander Dolberg.

Bethell can very well remember the three ghastly days in a local hotel:

"I was swearing aloud and cursing the system mercilessly."

I can imagine that, knowing the extent of Nicholas' stock of Russian foul words which he couldn't possibly have learned from Elizabeth Hill. Once I nearly smashed the car I was driving, because I was startled by Nicholas telling – without warning – a dirty Russian joke.

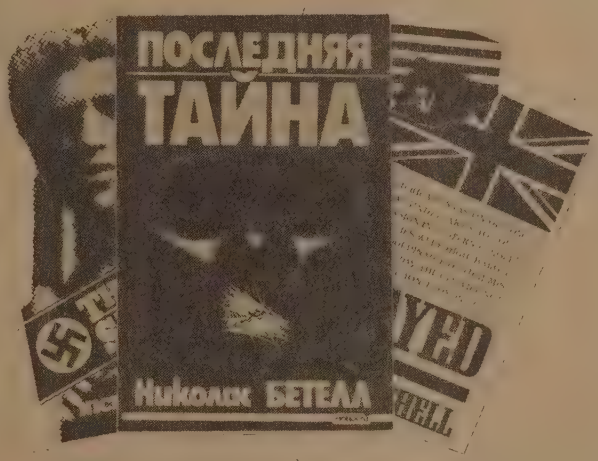
Eventually, the Bethells were allowed across the USSR state border, but Nicholas incited the KGB's suspicion. Perhaps it was then, in 1966, that the KGB started a file on him. Former KGB officer, Oleg Gordievsky quotes from that file by heart:

"Nicholas Bethell. Actively anti-communist and anti-Soviet. Career officer at the British Intelligence Service."

Following my meeting with Nicholas Bethell in 1986, a KGB officer "enlightened" me on the man, "with the best intentions, of course". He even claimed that Nicholas had a military rank of the Colonel.

In the meantime, the Western intelligence community started to regard Bethell "with a scowl" after the latter started to show intensive interest in Russian affairs and translated Solzhenitsyn's *Cancer Ward* into English (incidentally, it is that translation which is still on sale in the UK and the USA). As a matter of fact, intelligence professionals regarded him as a nuisance of an amateur.

"The CIA was then responsible for coordination of the majority of anti-Soviet actions, including press publications. People involved in the anti-Soviet industry found their work well rewarded by the CIA, directly or otherwise. In a well-known example,



Nicholas William Bethell has written four books. One of them, *Gomulka: his Poland and his Communism,* was published in 1969. It sketches out the history of modern Poland and shows how Wladislaw Gomulka, the popular leader in 1956, was gradually losing his public image.

In his 1972 book, *The War Hitler Won,* Bethell criticizes the Western governments for acquiescence to the German (and, later, Russian) aggression which obliterated the Poland state.

Betrayed, his book describing a British-US plan to overthrow the Communist dictatorship in Albania in 1949 and the role Kim Philby, a Soviet secret agent in the British Intelligence, played in thwarting the plan, appeared in print in 1984.

Bethell's best-known book, *The Last Secret,* describes the fate of dozens of thousands of Cossacks who fled to the West but were turned over to Stalin's regime in 1944-47 by the Allies. This book has recently been published in Russia as well.

Radio Liberty was on the CIA pay-roll till 1970 when it switched to financing from the US Congress. The CIA subsidized well-known magazines: *Survey, Problems of Communism,* and *Encounter*. They often published articles based on serious scientific research, but they were paid for by the secret services all the same. In short, they treated me like an outsider."

Hero of a documentary

The 1968 Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia shocked the 30-year-old Nicholas. His illusions about the possibility of transforming socialism into a more agreeable system dispersed. The new authorities arrested his personal Slovak friend, Pavel Licko. It was Licko who got to the Russian city of Ryazan to find Solzhenitsyn who gave Licko a Russian copy of the *Cancer Ward* which was translated by Bethell.

The Czechoslovak television showed a documentary entitled: "Who is who: Nicholas Bethell".

"The documentary authors accused me of spreading anti-socialist propaganda, and they were quite right. But they also alleged my 'involvement with the secret services' and attempts to collect secret information about Czechoslovakia, which was untrue."

The only piece of "material evidence of the crime" used both by the documentary authors and the prosecutor at Licko's trial (Licko got a year and a half imprisonment) was Bethell's letter in which he asked for concise biographies of Gustav Husak, Alexander Dubcek, and Vasil Bilak to be used in the book he was writing and which was completed and published in 1969.

In 1975, Margaret Thatcher nominated Lord Bethell for the European Parliament. Since then, he invariably proved his right to represent his district (North-West London) in elections held every five years. Nicholas once sent me his campaign booklet with pictures which were surprising in their lack of originality of the subject: Lord Bethell talking with residents of London's North-West, or Lord Bethell (a shovel in hands) participating in cleaning up the streets. He parried my irony, though somewhat self-consciously:

A glimpse of his life

Lord Bethell is going to marry Bryony Griffiths, 25, who is also a Conservative and politically active. In the meantime, Lord Bethell lives in his house on Sussex Square together with his two sons, James and John, and two cats. Every morning, the house is visited by Harriet, Lord Bethell's private secretary, and her dog. Nicholas treasures her secretarial skills even more than his own seat in the European Parliament. Another regular visitor to the house is Jacky who comes to cook meals and does the washing for the three men.

Lord Bethell gets paid £40,000 a year as a Member of the European Parliament and £45 for each time he participates in voting at the House of Lords.

Nicholas plays tennis and is an amateur photographer. He enjoys travelling. Another personal trait: he is rather absent-minded and often leaves his car's headlights on.

"This is a good snapshot. The law of the genre: if you want to see yourself in a newspaper picture, show up at some important meeting donning a funny hat."

As a Vice-Chairman of the European Parliament Human Rights Sub-Committee, Lord Bethell promoted the truth about the dissident movement in the USSR, in the West. In 1977, he met Vladimir Bukovsky, whom Moscow had swapped for Luis Corvalan and dished out to the West right from his prison cell. Since then, Bukovsky and Bethell have been good friends.

"He was an appalling sight: sha ven head, sunken cheeks. Late Soviet authorities were putting in prisoned dissidents on a bette diet, before letting them abroad to save the image of the country.

Bethell also met Alexande Ginzburg, Natalya Go banevskaya, Anatoly Shcha ransky, Yury Orlov, Lyudmi Alexeyeva, and Pyo Grigorenko. He distributed info mation supplied by the Mosco Helsinki Group in the West an was member of the Editori Board of the *Continent* magazine

"I accepted an offer to becom member of the Board, in spite c certain differences with Edito Vladimir Maximov. General speaking, the Soviet émigrés ar deeply divided by their political in transigence. Many otherwise ma velous men and women refus even to speak to each other whe they chance to meet. We Britis respect compromising in matte and don't understand why peop choose a different approach. It important to understand that onl an extraordinary and uncon promising person could become dissident in the then Russia. Aft all, rejection of compromises wi the authorities is the gist of th philosophy of dissent. Whenever meet a Russian émigré accepting compromise I know that the pe son was never a true dissident."

Bethell was denied a Sovi entry visa all those past year There were no open denials of th visa, but its issue was invariab delayed beyond the point whe the delegation had to board th plane for Moscow.

Crusade

I asked Nicholas: "Don't you thin that your position in regard to th USSR was often too simplified an lacking flexibility? Did you ever noti that you tended to divide the wor into straight good and straight ba though this approach is so sickening t the Western liberally-minded intelle tuals."

"I call myself a Russophile, if I ca I love Russians and the 'Slavic sou But to say: 'Communism is bad but provides free medical attendance an jobs for everyone' is absurd. Indee my aim was always to deal a sensitiv blow at the Soviet monster. Th

vas the main idea. Recall Andrei akharov's position: each case of vio-ation of human rights must be turned nto a real problem for the violator tate. I did my best to create as many roblems for the Kremlin as possible."

"True, the 'evil empire' has withered way by now. But in the late 1970s and arly 1980s the impression was that the JSSR is omnipotent and the USA is veaker and retreating. Americans even ailed to salvage a handful of their fellow ountrymen stranded in Iran while oviets were on the march: Nicaragua, thiopia, Angola – they were expand-ng their sphere of influence. Then came ne intervention in Afghanistan."

Lord Bethell called upon the British nd US governments to step up their sup-ort for the mujaheddin with money and eapon supplies. Together with Vla-imir Bukovsky he set up Radio Free abul which broadcast from a hideout in fghanistan for the sake of the Soviet oops stationed in that country. He also ook up the issue of Soviet POWs.

"A first I thought that the POWs ould tell the world the truth about loscow's policy vis-à-vis Afghanistan. ater, it evolved into a purely umanitarian project aimed at saving ne lives of Soviet soldiers captured by nujaheddin who used to kill them off uring the first two years of the war."

Bethell believed that he could channel ne released POWs to the West, and Tur-ey, if they happened to be Moslems, nd that it would stir up a wave of deser-ons among the Soviets once they arned about it. However, the actual re-ılt turned out to be much less impres-ve, mainly because the West was unwil-ng to give refuge to captured Soviets. lany soldiers developed drug addiction, hich barred them official access to the S and Canada.

Bethell participated in liberation of bout 20 men. In June 1984, Bethell nvinced Margaret Thatcher to give efuge in Britain to two Soviet soldiers, gor Rykov and Oleg Khlan.

"They were salvaged from captivity. lowever, neither Igor nor Oleg could ssimilate to life in London despite all ne help they had. Finally, both de-ded to return to the USSR..."

Upon return, Igor and Oleg gave an nterview to the *Izvestia* daily in which ney claimed that Lord Bethell drug-ed them and forced them to make nti-Soviet pronouncements. The me newspaper called Bethell a areer Intelligence Service officer".

"The tone of the interview and com-ents implied for me that I would never be allowed to revisit the USSR. Commenting on my BBC programme about Katyn, the Soviet official TASS news agency likened me to Goebbels: 'Bethell puts the blame for the death of Polish officers on Russians, though the whole world knows that they were killed by Germans'."

However, Nicholas Bethell got a Soviet visa two years afterwards, in December 1986, following a demarche of the head of the British Foreign Office. In 1989, Bethell met, with help from *New Times*, with Igor Rykov. The latter was glad to see his British savior and told him the true story of "his" interview in 1984.

On the very first day of his stay in Moscow, Bethell visited Andrei Sakharov (without previous agreement over the telephone, since the line to Sakharovs' Moscow flat was still not restored). He shared supper at the world-famous Sakharovs' kitchen. That happened only three days after Andrei Sakharov's return from his Gorki exile.

Sakharov and Bethell knew about each other though they never met before. Bethell met with Yelena Bonner in Florence, Rome, and Boston. He published resounding articles criticizing the bad treatment of the exiled scientist at the Gorki city hospital. In early 1986, Gorbachev promised to never let Sakharov abroad, in his interview for the *L'Humanité*. Bethell retorted: "Then how can Gorbachev pose himself as a man committed to reform?"

"Wherever Gorbachev went afterwards, he was always asked disquieting questions about Sakharov." Unlike his many colleagues, Lord Bethell didn't succumb to "Gorbimania" of 1985-86.

"I was always conscious of his reply to my question about the situation with human rights in Russia, during a reception at the House of Commons in late 1984. Gorbachev's was a typical Soviet reply: 'It is the USSR's internal affair. If you bring up the issue of the situation of Soviet dissidents, we will bring up the issue of Northern Ireland... The result will be a general deterioration in Soviet-British relations.' In the meantime – as we know today – the CPSU was actively interfering in the internal affairs of Great Britain, giving financial 'shots in the arm' to the British Communist Party and supporting industrial strikes here."

A call to the Russian White House from Mrs. Thatcher's office

For the last time (hopefully), Bethell was called a spy last summer. It was done in a publication issued by the KGB PR Centre, in connection with "the Gordievsky affair." Bethell insisted that the Soviet authorities must let Gordievsky's family out of the country *(NT* wrote about that), no matter how grave Gordievsky's own crime might be. Bethell reminded the Soviets that families of Soviet spies – Philby, Burgess, and Maclean – were free to visit Moscow whenever they choose, though the three men's betrayal caused the death of quite a few British subjects.

The next document Nicholas filed in his personal KGB dossier was a polite letter from Vadim Bakatin (the KGB chief for a recent brief period) who asked Bethell to help release remaining Soviet POWs held in Afghanistan.

That letter carries a September 1991 date. Earlier, on the 20th of August, on the second day of the putsch, Bethell arranged a meeting between Galina Starovoitova (who was in London then) and Margaret Thatcher. It was decided to make a telephone call to Moscow's White House.

"Galina lay out on the floor ten pounds of documents she brought along, trying to find Yeltsin's telephone number. At last, the number was found and dialed. Someone picked up the phone on the other end of the line and explained that Yeltsin had a difficult day. I said that I was speaking from Mrs.Thatcher's office and that she herself was present and willing to talk to Yeltsin. That produced the designed effect. Yeltsin was put through. It was in the middle of the putsch. Yeltsin and Thatcher spoke for half an hour through me. Mrs.Thatcher was taking notes."

* * *

During his visit to London last January 30, the Russian President met Lord Bethell and gave him a wrist watch as a present. Lord Bethell was moved. However, that can't buy his unconditional support for any, even the most democratic government. Bethell is known to have bitterly criticized even the British government for the latter's betrayal of Russian émigrés whom the West turned over to Stalin's regime after World War II, as well as for silencing over the Katyn issue and refusal to admit dissidents to the British Embassy in Moscow. As a true Englishman Bethell respects compromises, but he refuses to accept compromises based on falsehood.

Pepsi was first, but it seems Coca-Cola won

Leonid Mlechin

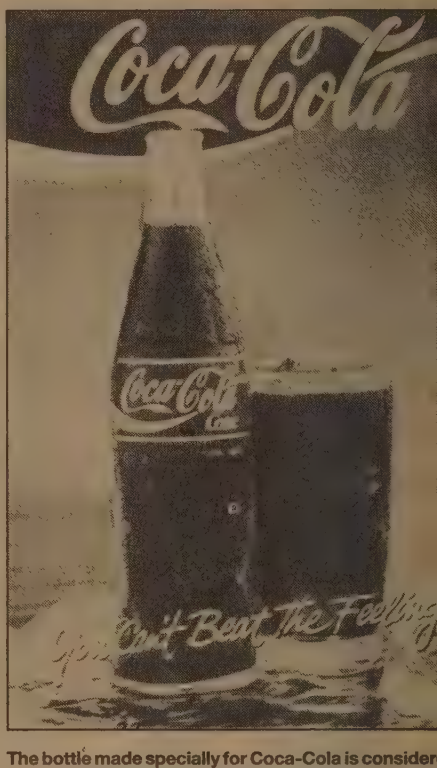
A historical meeting of two worlds took place when US Vice-President Richard Nixon led Nikita Khrushchev to the stand of the little known in Russia company PepsiCo Inc. at the American exhibition in Moscow in 1959. The photos of the Moscow leader drinking Pepsi-Cola was printed in papers all over the world. Pepsi became famous, and the Soviet people became acquainted with a very American soft drink.

The President comes to the rescue

True, it was already in Brezhnev's time when Nixon was again in the White House. This time, to crown the joy of PepsiCo, Richard Nixon was a Pepsi-Cola president. Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson were Coca-Cola presidents , but Nixon became the first Pepsi-Cola president. When he was elected in 1968 all the vending machines with cokes were taken out of the White House and those of their competitor triumphed in their place.

The gastronomic preferences of the presidents were rewarded. When Nixon lost to John Kennedy, it was PepsiCo that found a way to console the loser and gave him a chance to continue his political career. PepsiCo sent the defeated candidate on a trip around Asia and Europe in their company plane. In 1968, PepsiCo financed his campaign.

The new generation is making their choice only in commercials. In our country the choice was made by Khrushchev and Brezhnev



The bottle made specially for Coca-Cola is consider another great invention, second to coke itself

During his visit to Moscow as Vice-President, Richard Nixon treated Nikita Khrushchev to Pepsi-Cola. A dozen years later the entire Soviet people drank it thanks to Nixon, already President

And in return the head of Pepsico was includ on the American trade delegation which Nix sent to Moscow. An exceptional contract f those times opened the gigantic Eastern mark to PepsiCo. On the streets of Moscow and oth cities appeared the company's stands selli Pepsi.

Coca-Cola got even with their competitor wi the help of Jimmy Carter. President Carter also w a Coca-Cola president. Coca-Cola let him have t use of the company plane to get around the count while campaigning and put a million dollars into h campaign fund – they didn't begrudge him an thing. The best PR people in the company were a signed to help Carter. Once in the White Hous Carter immediately reversed what had been do by Nixon: all the vending machines with Pepsi we replaced with Coke machines. With Carter's he Coca-Cola got the exclusive right to quench t thirst of one billion Chinese just two days before agreement was signed between the USA and t People's Republic of China about establishing di lomatic relations. The world was divided betwe two great empires.

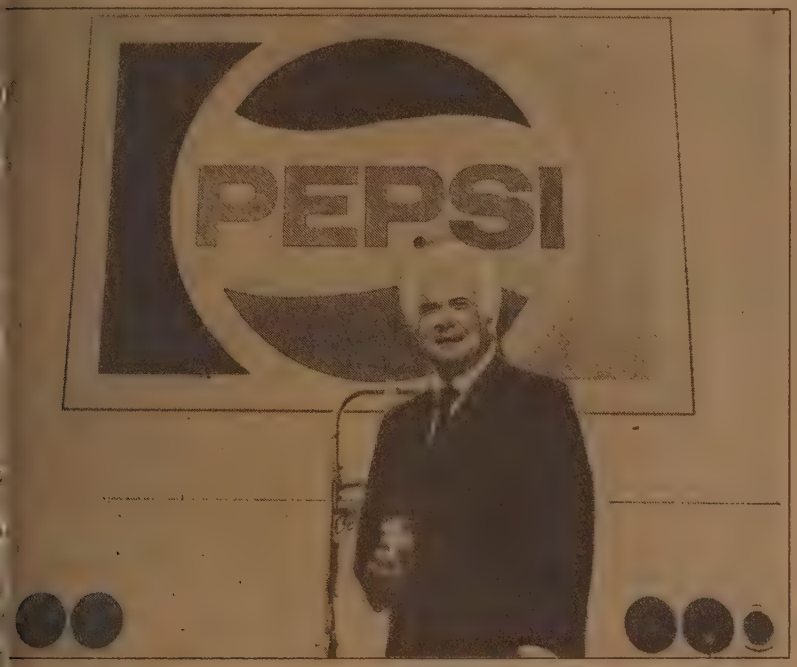
The great discovery of a loser

Coca-Cola, as everything great, came into being absolutely by chance. The chronic loser John Pemberton in his home laboratory at Atlanta was trying to come up with a remedy for various ailments. He made up some bitter mixture having added two widely known stimulants to it: the leaves of the coca tree and cola nuts. He tried to get rid of the bitter taste by adding sugar and vanila. In 1886, he brought the first portion of his coca-cola syrup to a nearby drugstore. The ads claimed that it was good for headaches and weariness. Coca-cola sold poorly.

It took off, so goes the legend, the day when the owner of the drugstore diluted the syrup not with plain water, but soda. Many people found this drink very tasty. The carefully preserved records of the company show that in 1887 the great inventor Pemberton sold 4,000 litres of his syrup, and in 1902 already half a million litres. A hundred years after Coca-Cola was invented around 10 billion litres of the refreshing soft drink a year are sold.

You could compare Pemberton's invention with the discovery of coffee, tea, and alcoholic drinks. Every day three hundred million people drink Coca-Cola. But that's not all. Coca-Cola became the symbol of what is called "the American way of life".

Coca-Cola is the head of a whole family of soft drinks. In almsot every country they try to immitate the classic drink, but so far no one has succeeded in putting together the secret recipe. It is known that in order to prepare Coca-Cola you need phosphoric acid, caffeine, nutmeg, vanila, cinnamon, glycerine, lemon and lavender. The only thing different about it since Pemberton's time is that cocaine is no longer added. In 1906, it became illegal to use narcotics in food and drinks in America. Until 1906, Coca-Cola was a weak narcotic, now it is only a refreshing drink.



The PepsiCo head, Kendall, dealt a blow to his competitors by announcing that the young generation belongs to Pepsi

The company makes a point of spreading many legends about the magic qualities of Coca-Cola and the secrets of its preparation.

One of the two must remain alive

It is thought that only two chemists know the recipe for Coca-Cola and day in, day out prepare the secret concentrate at the factory in Atlanta which is distributed to the branches of the company around the world. They say that these chemists are not allowed to fly in the same airplane: one of them must remain alive if there should be an accident.

The bottle for Coca-Cola is considered the second great invention, though the new generation won't get to see it. The company wanted to have a bottle which couldn't be confused with any other even in the dark. And it got it. Back then before the war they wrote that many people bought Coca-Cola just to have the pleasure of holding that amazing bottle with its corrugated surface in their hands.

But Coca-Cola was only an American drink until World War II. World fame came together with the victorious movement of the American troops across Western Europe and Japan.

The company saw to it that letters written by American soldiers at the front mentioning Coca-Cola were published. Some of the letters were excellent advertisement for the company. "We put a Coca-Cola bottle before us, looked at it and talked about it," wrote one soldier to his mother. "Then we hid it until the next day. It's amazing how much such a little thing as a bottle of Coca-Cola can mean to a man in the army."

They say that General Eisenhower right after the landing of the allied troops in Northern Africa gave the order to deliver three million bottles of Coca-Cola there and set up ten plants "which could put out 20,000 bottles a day. There also must be enough syrup and metal caps. Sixty thousand bottles a month are to be delivered to the ships."

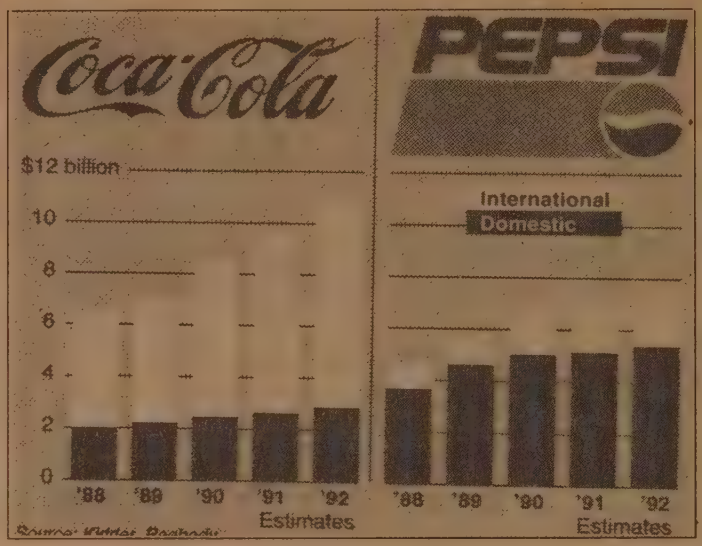
The headquarters of the company saw to it that there was a constant supply of Coca-Cola to all points on the globe where there were American soldiers. It was worked out how to store Coca-Cola on submarines and on fighting planes. Installations were designed for bottling Coca-Cola in jungles as well as machines that made dry ice. It seems that the Coca-Cola headquarters knew about everything: on the eve of the most important operations which were even kept secret from the officers, boxes of Coca-Cola were being delivered to the theatres of the ensuing battles.

In 1946, when the company was summing up their activities in a report titled "Coca-Cola Goes to War", it turned out that the army had drunk up 10 million bottles. And 64 bottling stations had been set up at government's expense.

The army wasn't the only winner of the war. Coca-Cola turned from being an American company into a world-wide one. A week after the capitulation of the Wehrmacht in Germany, the first factory producing Coca-Cola went into operation. In the summer of 1945 another 12 factories appeared in the bombed out Germany. The same thing was happening

Juilio Iglesias sang for Coca-Cola

Coca-Cola continues to lead. The diagram shows the volumes of Coca-Cola and PepsiCo sales in the home market (in black) and outside the US (in white)



Michael Jackson sided wi the young who picked Pep

in the other West European countries and in Japan. Coca-Cola had the smack of inaccessible American success for the time being. Everyone who bought the corrugated bottle with the familar label seemed to have touched another world.

The competitor holds his own

The history of Pepsi-Cola also began in a provincial drugstore just like the first jug of Coca-Cola.

In 1887, a year later than John Pemberton, the druggist Bradham in Northern Carolina proposed a new medicine for diahhrea to his coleagues. Then the medicine turned into just one more kind of lemonade which didn't stand out from any of all the other drinks. Pepsi was always a dull ordinary soft drink without any cult or myth. The tricky clerks tried to palm Pepsi off on inattentive customers instead of Coca-Cola because their tastes were very similar. When the news of such attempts reached Coca-Cola headquarters they made a big counterattack. As a result Pepsi found itself on the verge of bankruptcy twice. Pepsi had to seek out markets overlooked by Coca-Cola.

Coca-Cola gave its license to Israel, so the Arab countries immediately declared themselves a Coca-Cola free zone. Pepsi proposed its drink to the fighters of Zionism. PepsiCo also built its factories in Cambodia and in Vietnam as well as in Iraq and Granada. But they struck the main blow to the rival on its own territory.

The attack began in 1975. Millions of Americans were invited to take part in a free tasting session. The result was a disaster for Coca-Cola: three out of five admitted that they liked pepsi better though they drunk Coca-Cola all their lives. Coca-Cola lost 750 million dollars. They had to reduce the price and double what they spent on advertising.

Pepsi almost caught up with coke because they managed to assimilate its advertising experience. It would not be exaggerating to say that the hundred years success of Coca-Cola was mainly due to good advertizing. At the company's headquarters the results of a serious sociological study have long been known: every other bottle of coke is bought by someone who didn't intend to buy it at all but was influenced by the ad to do so.

Coca-Cola began with pictures of aristocratic life, and suddenly was hurled into everyday life. In the 60s Coca-Cola turned to the young: drink coke and you'll always be young.

Give us back the old coke!

Pepsi-Cola also turned to the young. If Julio Iglesias sang for Coca-Cola, then Michael Jackson sang for Pepsi. Then there followed a whole series of commercials using the well-tested formula: "The young generation pick Pepsi".

Coca-Cola instantly grew old. To buy Coke meant to admit not being "with it". In 1985, Coca-Cola tried to recapture its former success. Coca-Cola changed its recipe, it b came just as sweet Pepsi. But the heads the company miscalc lated. Coke fans toc the attempt at modern zation as a personal i sult.

"I'm forty-six," says woman during a d monstration protesting against the 'ne coke,' "I drank my first bottle of co when I was five. The first word m daughter learned to say was 'Coke' Lots of people gathered signatures on petition demanding to return their b loved old coke to them. The heads the company made a Solomonic co promise: they continued to put out t old coke calling it the Coca-Cola Cla sic. But the new coke must accompli its mission – to fight with Pepsi.

In spite of the head-on attacks, Pe siCo remains in second place. Coc Cola controls 46 percent of the intern tional market of non-alcoholic beve ages, satiating it with Coca-Cola, Spri and Fanta. The scale of Pepsi is mo modest. Now both companies ha made public their plans for new attack PepsiCo is going to spend a billion do lars in order to win Spain. Coca-Co came to Russia and was met warmly the new leaders.

The Brezhnev administration was f Pepsi-Cola. The new administrati could be called a Coca-Cola one in th case. Let's hope, though, that we do repeat the American experience a Coca-Cola stands won't triumphantly erected where only yesterday the stood Pepsi stands.

The diagram from Internation Herald Tribune (US

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

troduced by
lew Times analyst
Iostislav Zolotaryov

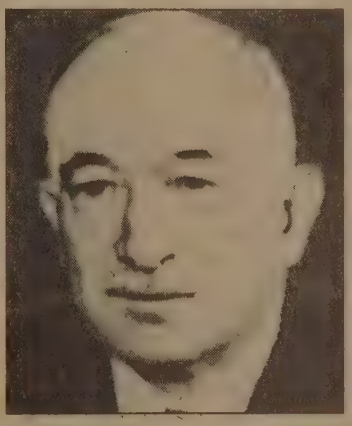
ebruary 1948 was a fatal month in the life of Eduard nes. It marked an end not only to e career of the outstanding politi- n and statesman, but to democ- cy in Czechoslovakia as well. The mmunists, who dominated in rliament and in the government, ok advantage of economic dif- ulties and social tension to en- neer a change in government. On e face of it, the coup looked quite nstitutional, and Benes yielded pressure – he was unable to re- st force. Eduard Benes had been t out for a stable and quiet politi- cal climate. The situation he found himself in was anything but that.

Born into a peasant's family, Eduard Benes, a gifted and industrious person, received an excellent education. Upon graduating from the Karlova University, he studied in Paris and Dijon. In 1908 he received a doctorate in law, then taught at a commercial academy and at Prague University. In politics, he was a disciple and follower of Tomas Masaryk (Benes was a friend of Masaryk's and his son for years). In 1918-35, Benes held the post of Foreign Minister, and then was elected President. He experienced the humiliation of the Munich defeat and, after the outbreak of World War II, went abroad where he led the government in exile. Benes set great store in relations with the "big neighbour in the East." He had great respect for Russian culture. Although he never accepted communism, Benes reckoned with it as a serious international and domestic political force. That was why he came to a compromise and agreed to cooperate with Communists after the war. Benes was re-elected President of Czechoslovakia in 1946, but the fate of democracy had already been sealed there. After the February 1948 coup, Benes stayed on in office until his refusal to sign the "Gottwald Constitution" in the summer of 1948. The mysterious suicide committed by Jan Masaryk, ex-Foreign Minister and a friend of his, was the last straw; Benes passed away in the autumn of the same year.

Benes' works are practically unknown in Russia. In an attempt to fill this gap we follow with an article originally carried by the émigré Russian magazine *Russkaya Volya* (No.13, 1923).

Democracy and diplomacy

Eduard Benes (1884–1948)



A politician, like a scientist, is supposed to be able to make clever use of his *mind's* analytical faculties. A politicaian, like an artist, is supposed to be e to combine *rationale* with *intuition*. A itician who is too much of a scientist, of esearcher, who concentrates on real facts l derives objective conclusions from them not a creative politician; he is only an alyst and an intellectualist incapable of noeuvring, engaging in creative en- vour for the future, foreseeing the con- uences of current events, and having ad concepts; such a politician is hemmed- dry, divorced from reality, lacking in in- ion and imagination. The kind of politics makes is that of an armchair scientist: when experts and pro- sors go into politics the result is the so-called professorial itics.

Now if a politician is too much of an artist, he over-em- asizes intuition, emotions and his own synthetic and ex- mely individualist view of things; he chases fancies, make arre combinations, heeds the voice of feeling, pursues a pol- of passions, love and hate, lacks philosophical and scientific cipline, and often remains hopelessly superficial. This ex- ins why prominent writers frequently fail in politics; why iticians of an artistic cast of mind usually engage in hare- ined schemes, turn politics into romance because they simply not come down to earth, instead making it a series of inspi- ions which are extremely subjective and full of magnificent ns always doomed to failure.

What makes, and will always make a politician worthy of the ne is the ability to harmonize and balance these two mental capacities – the intellectual capacity for analysis and the emotional capacity for synthesis and intuition, to control emotions by reason, and reason by emotions. As a matter of fact, this is what politics is all about: *politics has always amounted to an effort to form a correct understanding of the current reality of today and the likely reality of tomorrow.* The absolute predominance of reason leads to a lifeless schematizing intellectualism; and the absolute predominance of emotion to abstract, unrealistic and idle daydreaming and to extremely dangerous experiments.

Between these two extremes, the prototypes of an overrational politician and an overemotional politician there are, of course, numerous graduations of types combining elements of reason and emotion in various proportions. Whether a politician is good or bad depends on these proportions.

Modern political society is proceeding towards democratization. Democratization has a profound influence on foreign policy which has been offering it the strongest resistance so far. This is of crucial importance not only for understanding all political tasks, but for a politician as an individual as well. Notably, the intuitive, sensitive and romantic politician has always been, and still is inclined to overestimate his own personality and, therefore, may be extremely authoritarian, and have an aristocratic feudal outlook on the world and on politics in general.

The type of a politician who depends on reason is more consonant with democracy. He is brought round to this point of view by a scientific method, objectivity and overall impartiality. The democratic idea also leads, quite often, to cold reasoning, to politics

being regarded as a dry science only, to a mathematical approach to the masses, to a quantitative rather than qualitative appraisal of people. Democracy is a system of universal suffrage and maintains that all the individuals are of absolutely identical value. A politician aware of all that, should see to it that neither extreme prevails because each of them may have dangerous consequences in practice.

The World War which the popular masses were drawn into made it clear to them that they ought to show interest in political questions and to take part in solving them. No matter which side wins the war, all suffer from it. That was precisely why the last war caused such an intense growth in democratic tendencies all over the world and such an epoch-making turn towards a sweeping democratization of public life.

Until quite recently, foreign policy was made by a handful of people in most European states; it was conducted in an absolutist way even in constitutional democracies.

Prestige politics, be it national or imperial, always leads to one-upmanship and a deterioration in international relations

Now one can hear calls for its democratization everywhere, i.e., for open negotiations on all international issues, for open discussions in the press and in parliament, for the abolishing of the bureaucratic practice of settling various matters by means of secret notes and secret agreements. This implies also that in certain cases legislative power, i.e., parliamentary commissions concerned with foreign policy and parliament itself, rather than executive power, i.e., the ministers and the government, should have the final say.

Even if we do not regard all these demands as fair, some of them cannot be ignored. Let us face it: public opinion is becoming, to an ever greater extent, a judge and a guiding force of foreign policy.

Its is necessary, first and foremost, to be familiar with foreign policy matters, or rather to have a substantial knowledge of them because foreign policy should be a science. Foreign policy objectives are less known than those of domestic policy. This is the case everywhere, and complaints about this can be heard in all parliaments. The last war evoked an extraordinary interest in foreign policy matters, so much so that many even came to give them serious study. It is too bad when the press and the public at large begin to judge foreign policy matters which they know next to nothing about. The consequences of such criticism are always lamentable because a whole state is in question here, and foreign policy is much more difficult to alter than domestic policy; creative skill can be applied to it most rewardingly because foreign policy usually deals with problems stated in general terms. Such problems are easier to deal with, creative problem solving is more convenient, but mistakes are more likely and more dangerous. Therefore, every politician engaged in foreign policy should display self-control, prudence, and scientific restraint; these qualities are particularly important today, in our democratic times.

And so, the first conclusion to be drawn from the democratization of foreign policy is that its sculptors should have a *profound knowledge of its objectives.*

Foreign policy is also an art, its purpose being to adjust international relations. This is done through the medium of diplomats. International relations are carried out by their mutual contacts and activities... A diplomat representing a state and its dignity should be treated with respect and extraordinary pol ness; for his part, he should act accordingly.

In a democracy, this is usually not the case because par ment and the press seldom show much consideration for fore states. If a democracy wants its diplomacy to be a success should not only give the problems involved an all-round stu but also teach itself tact, restraint, modesty and care when aling with foreign policy matters. Politicians and journalists v chase success and sensations are usually devoid of such qu ities. In all these cases it is necessary to combine the tenden of individualist diplomacy with those of straight-forward dem cratic criticism.

So our second conclusion is that democracy should teach it new forms of relations, *tact, decency and care* when negotiat foreign policy matters because it has no right to forget that the sphere of diplomacy, politics comes closer to art than in other sphere.

However, the democratizat of foreign policy cannot be hundred percent for t reasons.

The chief purpose of a dem cracy in general is to make citizens ripe for democra democracy actually consists the ability to control oneself, to create one's own discipline find the correct correlation between personal and state intere to be able to impose fair restrictions on the authority of state. A democracy displays a tendency towards anarchy disintegration if its citizens are not quite educated and ripe a democratic worldview. In a number of domestic policy iss the interests of the whole state have a much less important r to play than they do in the questions of foreign policy which ways pursues the interests of the state as a whole. C sequently, a democracy should approach foreign policy matt with greater care and restraint than it does the problems domestic policy. The riper a democracy is, the more open diplomacy should be. The more citizens know about fore policy and the more experienced and knowledgable society i this sphere, the more open foreign policy can be to the gen public. Therefore, as time goes on, diplomacy will have e less need for secret agreements. Eventually, a secret agreem will amount to an internal contradiction of the whole regi When democracy finally prevails in a state, there will simply no minister in it ready to sign a secret agreement.

It will be possible to pursue a consistently democratic fore policy only when the worldwide democratization process co to influence the given state's domestic policy and, what's mo brings about the democratization of *interstate* relations. Un tunately, we do not see this happening so far. Democratism more feasible within a state where it is usually possible to press on individual citizens the usefulness of the state, to ev in them a sense of patriotism which can unite citizens, differ classes and parties, subduing tensions.

Nothing of the kind can be done in the sphere of interst relations. International (all-human) patriotism is non-existen yet. The states as such are not yet prepared to forfeit their r row interests in a decisive political moment...

In view of the fact that even if the relationships between two states are cordial, each seeks to gain all sorts of econo and political advantages from the other, many questions

annot be discussed in the open. It is impossible to make certain acts public, to ban the discussion of "pros" and "cons" ehind closed doors and it would be unrealistic to demand nat all the conferences should gather in open sessions. Any tate has to maintain a certain amount of secrecy if it is not o lose all.

In modern constitutional states, open diplomacy is sufficiently well guaranteed by the principle of ministers' responsibility and by the freedom of the press. Therefore, even the most democratic states admit that the government should be authorized, in the interests of the state, not to make certain things public, and be made free to chose the time for, and the methods of submitting these things to society for consideration...

As soon as the democratic regime made foreign policy problems a subject of open discussion in the press and in parliament, thus making the problems of war and peace, conflicts, agreements and unions public, it became necessary to find ways of reaching this public, the press and parliaments of foreign states with detailed information.

In a democracy foreign policy matters and diplomacy are always subject to criticism and exposed to public scrutiny which is a built-in mechanism for its adjustment and fine tuning

The democratization of foreign policy changes in principle the demands made on diplomats. Being constantly exposed to public criticism in parliament and in the press, the foreign minister extends public control (not directly, of course) to the diplomatic service as well... This control makes higher demands on a diplomat. Each diplomat is supposed to be well versed indeed in all the foreign policy questions, to possess great erudition and an all-embracing liberal education. A democratic diplomat gradually gives up matters of form and etiquette and rather pays more attention to the essence of a question. This alone means greater responsibility.

For the same reasons, the diplomatic service of a democratic regime has to consider *honesty, realism and strict legality*, basic principles and to use them constantly.

It would be utterly wrong to think that democratic diplomacy implies what diplomacy in general usually does: various semi-secret negotiations, mutual deceit, meaningful speeches.

With the passage of time, such notions will gradually disappear because they have been, and still are, true only where foreign policy was made by a limited caste which, being out of the public's view and certain that their actions will remain secret, could afford such methods and actions.

In a democracy, where foreign policy is being increasingly exposed to public scrutiny from beginning to end, such methods and actions are utterly impossible, because such secret diplomacy would come under the devastating fire of public opinion. The only weapons of democratic diplomacy are *truthfulness*, legality and honesty.

A democratic diplomat no longer pursues *prestige politics*. As long as international disputes were settled by a limited circle of people, or a caste, prestige politics was common practice; this is, as a matter of fact, the diplomacy of absolutism. Besides, politics were much simpler then than they are now, under a democratic regime. Prestige politics can lead either to full victory or to utter surrender (formally, at least, as is the case mostly). This is the most dangerous thing in international relations: prestige politics always makes defeat inevitable in the end.

It brings either a formal victory and, with it, a defeat on matters of substance, plus mortal hatred on the part of the opponent; or a victory on matters of substance which inevitably goes with a formal concession in this case, whatever gains the winning side makes, its dignity and position suffer, and the opponent becomes an eternal enemy.

This readily suggests the conclusion that prestige politics leads to enmity, but never to a peaceful settlement of a conflict. *Prestige diplomacy is a danger to peace.*

It should be added to this that under the absolutist regime, prestige diplomacy did not always have such fatal consequences and was more tolerant. The question of prestige was usually linked up then with the ambitions of diplomats and politicians, which was quite natural in a situation where the making of vital decisions was a privilege of a select few.

In a democracy, it is all much more complicated. The state and public opinion are much more sensitive than the opinions of private individuals, because the physical or moral damage done to a nation or to a state is more strongly manifest, any attempt to deal with the question at issue from positions of state prestige would burn the state's and the negotiators' boats.

Such attempts, and prestige policy in general, strongly irritate the public. What's more, considering the sensitivity and explosiveness of public opinion, prestige politics is extremely dangerous for the diplomats of a democratic regime because they are under the watchful eye of society and therefore can't budge from their initial position.

Hence, the second conclusion: a democratic regime is incompatible with a diplomacy which pursues prestige politics. In the final analysis, democratic diplomacy should, in its own interests, resist prestige politics in whatever form.

Our conclusion from the above is as follows: a modern diplomat representing a democratic regime should be an expert in his field, honest, and have a strong sense of legality; he should be a modest and restrained person, not keen on prestige politics, having no faith in quick and certain successes, because democracy is opposed to this in its very essence. ■

"Libyans receive training in one of the US military camps, and when necessary, they will go into action to overthrow the present regime in Tripoli. Bush and I will overwhelm Qaddafi," says **Idris Al Senussi,** heir to the Lybian throne.

Prince Idriss is a direct scion of the last Libyan king deposed in 1969. He lives in Rome, where he heads a prospering mediating bureau. In his opinion, today Qaddafi is "a sort of anachronism, like Fidel Castro in Latin America." Idris Al Senussi thinks that Qaddafi "finally compromised himself" last August, when he backed the abortive coup in Moscow.

The prince is sure that an uprising in Libya will begin in the army, and he wants to be useful for his people in hard times. "And not at all as the king," Idris stresses. He points out, however, that from 1863, when his ancestor came up with the idea of uniting Libya, the Senussi monarchy was a guarantor of stability and the unity of tribes. This policy was also pursued by his great-grandfather, King Idris, who led the struggle against the Italian occupation and held a referendum among the tribes before he ascended the throne.

Besides, the prince counts on international recognition. Idris says that he has many friends in the United States. He was invited to address the British parliament. His friend, Spanish King Juan Carlos, promised full support. The governments of Arab states in the Persian Gulf also give full support to the prince.

* * *

Vincent Lindon, 32, gets very annoyed when in the "gutter press" he is mentioned together with Monaco princess Carolina. He is indeed a friend of the princess. But he wants to be mentioned first of all as a film actor.

Vincent came from a middle-class family in Paris, which produced not a few noted journalists and lawyers. In school years, he developed a liking for the theatre. Vincent dropped his studies and began to work for the well-known comic Coluche as a chauffeur, technician and, in general, as a Jack-of-all-trades.

Later, he was an assistant to Alain Resnais in his film *Mon oncle d'Amerique*. Vincent usually attracted attention by his innate shyness. "I aroused pity and thus achieved what was denied others," he recalls.

He gradually carved out a name for himself and, finally, was offered a role in Claude Pinoteau's film *Etudiante,* for which he received a Jean Gabin prize in 1989. Vincent's mastery was highly appraised by Claude Lelouch, who invited him as a partner of Beatrice Dalle in the film *La belle histoire*.

Critics call Vincent a new Alain Delon. However, Vincent feels a deeper respect for Yves Montand, with whom he played in the film *Netchaiev è tornato*, and who, shortly before his death, said Lindon should become his successor in French cinema.

* * *

The leader of the American professional basketball team, the Denver Nuggets, **Dikembe Mutombo,** 25, has mastered four European languages and five African dialects, and wants to become a diplomat.

Seven years ago he was studying medicine at Kinshasa University in Zaire. He dreamed of becoming a doctor. But two things got in his way: his elder brother Ilo and his 2.2-metre height.

When Dikembe was 18 Ilo advised him to take up basketball seriously. He learned the game well in the basketball team of Georgetown University. In the current season he made a successful debut in the championship of the National Basketball Association. Dikembe is likely to be named the NBA Rookie of the Year. His basketball ability earns him nearly three million dollars annually.

He spent his entire first year at Georgetown University learning the English language. Besides English, as it was mentioned above, he knows three other European languages and five African dialects. The basketball star does not only play. He worked on a California Congressman's staff and in the World Bank. At present he is trying to fund a scholarship for African students who come to study in the United States.

Although Dikembe has a five-year contract with the Nuggets, he is looking ahead to life after basketball. "The United Nations?

Intelligence officer writes "counter-memoirs"

KGB Colonel **Mikhail Lyubimov,** 57, former employee of the Soviet secret service in Denmark, was the first security officer to openly criticize the department. It happened three years ago. Lyubimov then expressed his support for disgraced General Oleg Kalugin in his startling revelations.

Lyubimov appeared as a witness during parliamentary hearings on the illegal transfer of money by Soviet Communist Party leaders to Communist parties in other countries. He admitted that on instructions from the Party's Central Committee he personally handed 300,000 dollars to leaders of the Danish Communist Party.

A few days ago, Danish newspapers asked Lyubimov to give an authoritative conclusion on whether a prominent Danish journalist was a KGB agent of influence.

In his leisure time, Mikhail Lyubimov engages in belles-lettres. Plays have been staged after his scenarios about the secret service: *Murder for Export* and *A Legend about a Legend*. In 1990 his novel *An Inferno Followed Him* was published in the magazine *Ogonyok*. Chapters from Lyubimov's autobiographic book *Counter-memoirs of a Spy* are to come out soon.

M. Savvaitova

would love to work there," e says.

* * *

innish President **Mauno Koivisto** has signed a nedical behest, in which he efuses the possibility of artificial maintenance of ital functions" in the case f a disease or his age leav- ng him no hope of recov-

ry. Koivisto, whose health now satisfactory, rejects wer existing as an adjunct a machine of the "heart- ng" type, which are in- reasingly used for the con- oversial prolongation of fe for patients in an uncon- cious state.

The widespread discus- on in the West about the thical consequences of ex- essive intervention with gh technology in life and eath matters, has reached ie top echelon of politics.

There are not a few in- tances when doctors arti- cially maintained the life of politicians of this rank – the Spanish dictator Franco, the Soviet General Secretaries Brezhnev, Andropov and Chernenko. The previous Finnish President, Kekkonen, was seriously ill for a long time. However, ministers pretended that he was simply unwell and visited him "to get advice."

Elected for a term ending in 1994, Mauno Koivistó, 68, does not apparently want a repetition of the situation when ministers having spent half an hour in the reception room of the leader who went into a coma, tell journalists in the street that they had a "useful and profound conversation".

The President's doctor considers the behest a bold and important step which will serve as an example for those who do not want to compel doctors and close relatives to commit a sin by switching off the life-supporting apparatus. Under the new practice, patients can inform the health department in written form of the choice made by them without waiting when disease or old age make them unable to decide their fate.

A. Polyukhov,
NT correspondent
STOCKHOLM

* * *

Having lost any hope of gaining support from the authorities of the former Union or the present Commonwealth, the ethnic Germans of Russia have set up a fund of rehabilitation and assistance for victims of Stalinism and inmates of forced labour camps. The organization is led by Siberian writer **Alexander Dietz.**

At present Dietz spends much time not at his writing-desk but in the reception rooms of top officials on whom depends the recognition of former "labour armies" inmates' services. During the first year of the war, about 800,000 ethnic Germans aged 14 to 60 were sent to these "armies," in other words, to concentration camps, in Siberia and Kazakhstan. About half a million of them did not return from the camps. Those

who survived were forbidden to tell others about their tragic fate. Till recently they had no right to any privileges or decorations.

Almost a year ago, in accordance with a decree issued by former President Mikhail Gorbachev, ethnic Germans were granted the right to receive a medal for valiant labour in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45. However, medals were awarded only to those who presented papers confirming their "conscientious labour" behind barbed wire.

Alexander Dietz believes that at some time an end will be put to the lawless and humiliating treatment of ethnic Germans in this country. His fund tries to give every possible assistance to those in need, 50 years later, to restore their good name and find the remains of their relatives who died in Stalin camps. "I cannot do otherwise, I have no moral right not to do this," the writer says. "I lost my father in a forced labour camp. My elder brother Gotlieb died in the Chepets camp. My uncle and two cousins did not return from internal exile. My mother hardly survived, doing back-breaking work in the Krasnoyarsk taiga. Why were they punished so?"

Alexander Dietz was born before the war in the autonomous German republic, in the Lower Volga area. In 1941, together with his parents, he was exiled to the Altai territory, where he began to work as a tractor driver at the age of 13. Later, Alexander graduated from a party school (a great luck for a German) and an economics college. After that he was a full-time worker in the Young Communist League and Party bodies in Barnaul. In the early 1980s, Dietz published his first stories about Siberia and the life of ethnic Germans.

Today Dietz dreams of building near Barnaul a medical centre for those Siberians who survived repressions and went through Stalin camps. But, as happens with any noble cause, his fund does not have enough money. Alexander hopes that he will be able to find sponsors. He also counts on donations which should be transferred with the note: "The fund for former inmates of forced labour camps" to the following address:

656068, Barnaul, Krupskaya Str., 91a, Altai regional Rosselkhozbank, ruble current account No. 700228, MFO 101017; currency current account No. 070712 MFO 101017, on the correspondent account No. 0730459/001, MFO 299178 in Rosselkhozbank, Moscow.

K.Isakov

"Political asylum" for a deputy

"While Kravchuk rules in Ukraine, my political asylum is in Russia," says **Alla Yaroshinskaya,** 38, only recently people's deputy of the USSR, who currently heads the department for mass media at the Russian Press Ministry. She examines the questions of forecasting and development for Russian newspapers and magazines, the "survival" of the press in conditions of a market economy.

The end of a political career? "I think that what I am doing now is politics," Yaroshinskaya says. "Journalists from regional newspapers often come to me and ask to help protect their rights, and I try to help them all."

On graduating from the department of journalism at Kiev University, Alla Yaroshinskaya worked for 13 years as a correspondent for the newspaper *Radyanska Zhitomirshchina* (Soviet Zhitomir Region) in Ukraine to become a People's Deputy. Her name became known to the whole country after her revelations about the Chernobyl tragedy. Alla won in the hard contest with the regional party bureaucracy to become a People's Deputy. Her story *Chernobyl Is with Us,* based on documents, was brought out in Russia last November.

At present Alla Yaroshinskaya is studying 40 secret documents of the Politburo on Chernobyl, and she is going to make them public.

Of jockey shorts and panties

Tatiana Ivanova

Letters from people falling from 600 metres without a parachute

I just cannot part with many of the letters I get. I keep them and re-read them from time to time.

Here is, for example, a letter from R.F. Lepyoshkina of the Voronezhsky poultry farm, Novousmansky District, Voronezh Region. "Read this letter from the countryside," it reads, "and maybe you will see why you townsfolk have to line up from four in the morning to get some milk and why, before very long, you won't have to get up so early, because there will be no milk to line up for."

The place R. Lepyoshkina lives in, fifteen kilometres from Voronezh, is totally cut off from the outside world. Her settlement's population is 1,600, "of whom 802 are pensioners, and 354 children." There is no hospital in it. Neither is there any communication with Voronezh.

Last year, the local poultry farm's management offered its 560 workers 8 (eight) pairs of men's domestic-made jockey shorts on the occasion of Agricultural Workers' Day. The men spent hours arguing who deserved the honour of buying them. They compared each other's amount of service to the nation, to the Motherland. The services were many, but the underpants were few... So the men decided to let the bosses have the briefs lest anyone should feel wronged. There were just eight bosses on the farm. That was a difficult decision to make, but no one objected to it: after all, the bosses had to go to town now and again, and to sit at conferences there.

The momentous briefs-for-the-bosses plan failed, however. The briefs had been ordered, you see, but not delivered, so they remained on paper and, consequently, could not be put on. The poultry farmers' dream never came true...

But after rain comes sunshine. The women workers of the poultry farm had better luck: fifty-six panties were not only ordered for them, but actually delivered and, believe it or not, sold to them. Panties! Weren't they beautiful – pink, complete with elastic waistbands! The declaration which accompanied these exotic commodities did not specify whom they were intended for: "veterans," "mothers of many children," "invalids" or "pensioners"... Consequently, the work collective was free to distribute them as it thought fit. If, in the work collective's opinion, girls needed the panties most, then the panties would go to the girls. To the pretty dames who had more use for them.

The poultry maids could, of course, decide to wear the panties in turn, by special agreement. For instance, an appointment with a town dentist could automatically entitle a lady to put a pair of panties on...

This is no laughing matter, this is a serious situation – deadly ser ous. Because the poultry farm which gives us eggs and chicken, lost in the wilderness with not shoe or a length of fabric to be g for love or money.

Before the prices had bee "liberalized," the self-cost of litre of milk was a ruble and a ha on that poultry farm. The ci bought milk at 50 copecks a litr What's the situation today? Ho can we expect to find milk on sa in Moscow today, considering th the cost of bringing milk fro under a cow to a Moscow crean ery is five times that of milk i self?

A pair of more or less decen ladies' shoes costs 2,500 ruble And do you know how much pays to weed a hectare of a suga beet field by hand, with a cho per? A hundred rubles. You' got to squat 70,000 times, at leas even if there is just one weed p beetroot. But weeds thrive on th Voronezh fertile soils... Co sequently, you've got to weed, b hand, a 25-hectare sugar-be field to earn the worth of a pair shoes. Is it any wonder, then, th sugar is in short supply?

Raisa Fyodorovna Lepyoshkin is an economist. "Who can tell m what the exchange rate of the 'ci ruble' to the 'village ruble' is," sh asks, "in a situation where on million 'village rubles' is actual worth less than 60,000 city ruble Shall I apply to the world co munity for the solution to th mathematical riddle?"

Raisa Fyodorovna entitled h letter "The absurdities of Russia economy."

The wretched poultry farm ca not afford to buy underwea shoes and boots, let alone a bu for its workers, or to set up a firs aid station for them. I wond what it will be like when a real e pert, a private owner, takes over. And I also wonder who this luck devil will be... They say that wartime, Germans used to tak Voronezh black soil home by th plane-, truck-, or simply kna sack-load. Voronezh black soil truly worth its weight in gold. wonder when the people workin on that precious soil will stop goin around bottomless... Shall I ev

Drawing by Vyacheslav Shilov

ear this good news from aisa Fyodorovna?

Our campaigners for social stice who want their milk, utter, eggs and sugar cheap ould be well-advised to pon- er over Raisa Lepyoshkina's tter. Maybe they will see en why chickens are so ex- ensive in Russia today.

When I am in low spirits, I el like re-reading the letter om Valentina Nikolayevna orzhova in Alma Ata. Never give way to panic," she rites. "After I had baled out an altitude of 600 metres in hat was my second parachute mp in Taldy-Kurgan in 1958, ith the use of the automatic p cord, the main parachute iled to open. What if I had nicked? I kept calm, how- er, sized up the situation in- antly, acted fast and man- ged to open the emergency ute."

Valentina Nikolayevna re- rds fear and panicking as ortal sins. "Our politicians nd journalists sin against the eople and against the Al- ighty as they hysterically redict chaos, famine, crisis, lamities, a civil war, coups, a dictatorship. They make me sick!"

Who has found themselves in such a horrible situation, in such a chaos, which we are constantly being threatened with by the press, Valentina Nikolayevna asks. The politicians and journalists themselves, maybe? She hopes that they, of all people, have enough to eat and are not altogether homeless, thank God. As to the letter writer herself, well... "I am a widow of twenty years standing, a mother of four, and I've got four grandchildren already. Have you ever heard me complaining? I've had a hard life, no denying that. But I have always looked for, and found honest and worthy ways to cope with my problems. There are millions of people like me in Russia."

Valentina Korzhova gives alarmists a long and emotional lecture. It follows from her letter that Moscow journalists simply infect people with their depression, melancholy and fears. "They hold burial services for the living every night," the letter says.

The arrival of this letter coincided with an interesting phenomenon. Two popular and much-respected papers carried "anti-Moscow" letters within one week. Residents of several provincial towns wrote to the *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, saying that it is immoral on the Muscovites' part to wax nostalgic about the abundance of long ago: Russia has been on short rations for thirty years, and has never eaten its fill anyway. The letter-writers describe Muscovites as "pampered sissies," and it follows from their letters that they are forming their judgements based on television programmes, on articles by Moscow journalists, to Moscow politicians' analyses of the current situation and their views of the future.

Writing in the *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, a lawer from a small town near Moscow shared his observations of Muscovites' behaviour outside the limits of their city. He describes the way they fight with their sisters and brothers in court over summer cottages, the way they share out property, the way they wrangle over every berry shrub.

Another paper carried a letter from a Moscow-born soldier who had defected from his unit. Soldiers hate Muscovites, he writes, beat them, bully them, and call them "guzzlers"...

All this is easy to understand and, after all, easy to overcome.

Indeed, a great deal of moans, complaints and gloomy prophecies are issuing from Moscow. The central TV station is a case in point: Communist cheerfulness of old has given way to pessimistic melancholy, which TV commentators spend as much air time, emotions and talent on.

Journalists dish out bad news with such gusto, their faces bear such a funereal expression, their voices sound so alarming as if they have forgotten that people do not love those who bring bad news. So much so that the messengers who brought such news used to get their heads chopped off by tyrants. Non-tyrants do not go to such lengths, of course. But, judging by the mail we and other periodicals get, their patience is running out.

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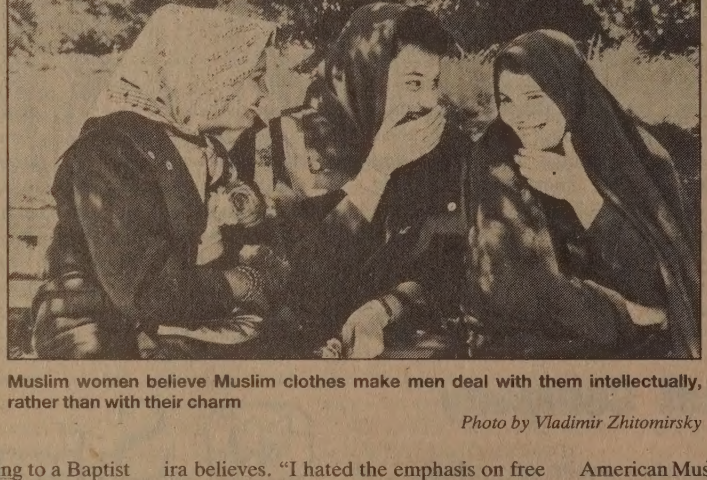
American women and Islam

In multicultural California, home of the nation's second largest contingent of white Muslim converts (New York is first), white women converts are learning to live as part of a diverse Muslim community. In the process they are also shattering the stereotype of the oppressed Muslim woman.

...In a modest bungalow in the San Francisco suburb of Albany, a group of white Muslim women gather to study Arabic and discuss Islam.

Their teacher, Amina, a mother of four, was raised Muslim by her Pakistani father and white convert mother. She is fluent in Arabic and holds a master's degree in Near Eastern studies. "Everyone here went to college, and most of us work, too," Amina says. "We don't fit the stereotype of the uneducated, oppressed Muslim woman."

In fact, these women are out to shatter stereotypes. They've opened their class to a reporter, in the uneasy aftermath of the war with Iraq, to talk about the misunderstood religion they've chosen to build their lives around, the religion that by early next century will surpass Judaism as the third largest in the United States.



Muslim women believe Muslim clothes make men deal with them intellectually, rather than with their charm

Photo by Vladimir Zhitomirsky

"I was raised a Lutheran, and in my teens I started going to a Baptist group," says Roxanne, 36, a blond former homecoming queen from Wisconsin who owns a daycare center in Berkeley. After she married a Moroccan Muslim, Roxanne found herself drawn by Islam's rigor: its call to prayer five times daily, the social responsibility, the prohibitions against alcohol and drugs. "I need that discipline in my life," she says. "Islam pulls my reins in."

Nasira was searching too. Raised an atheist by Marxist parents "in an anarchistic home," the 38-year-old teacher grew up craving for order and religious faith. When she was 18, she talked about Islam with an African-American Muslim. Conversion came three weeks later. She subsequently married him but they divorced after 16 years. A single mother of four, she nonetheless completed her English degree at UC-Berkeley and got a job teaching at a Muslim school in Oakland. "If they tell you Muslim women aren't liberated, look at that," Nasira says. Charismatic, persuasive, opinionated, Nasira revels in her own contradictions – that she's a Muslim Jane Austen fan, a single Muslim mom. "I still get pleasure watching how people react to me – I see them react to my dress, and then when I start talking, they're surprised I'm not crazy, that I'm an intelligent woman."

Nasira believes Islam's dense web of moral teaching protects women better than Western feminism, which she says only freed American men from the obligation of providing for women without giving women the means to provide for themselves.

"Covering" – wearing concealing clothes – on the other hand, liberates women, Nasira believes. "I hated the emphasis on free sex that emerged in the '60s. Without a veil, I felt on stage sexually, all the time. With a veil, men deal with me intellectually, with my personality."

Other Muslim women note that Islam codified a breakthrough for women's rights in Mohammed's day by prohibiting female infanticide, ensuring women the right to own and inherit property, expanding their marital rights, and spelling out conditions under which a woman could initiate a divorce. The Koran places no restrictions on women working outside the home.

On the other hand, it remains harder for women to get a divorce under Islamic law, and they are only provided half the family inheritance of their brothers. Men may marry non-Muslims; women may not. The Koran instructs men to provide for their wives and treat them well, but women to be "obedient" to their husbands.

Khadijah Chadly – who grew up a Jewish girl named Shelley in New Jersey – co
verted to Islam due to the influence of bo
her husband, a Moroccan musician, a
Sufism, an ancient Islamic mystical trad
tion that emphasizes prayer, contempl
tion, study and self-knowledge under th
tutelage of Muslim holy men. Aside fro
marriage to Muslims, the most comm
path to Islam for white Americans
through Sufism.

Chadly found in her new faith a way
structure her life around her family. H
post-Islamic life, she says, is very differe
from her past, when she spent years trave
ling throughout Europe and Asia, a sing
woman alone, experimenting with religio
and relationships.

Now her life is ordere
by Islam. "I admit,
wanted the structure. I ha
a very structureless life.
wanted a family. Th
prophet wrote a lot abo
how to be a family, and
really made sense to me."

Despite Weste
stereotypes, most wom
converts talk of findi
freedom through Islam
says Yvonne Hadda
editor of the book, *T
Muslims of America* a
professor of history at th
University of Ma
sachusetts.

Within a faith not know
for its women leade
white women converts a
emerging as activists in th
American Muslim community, helping sta
women's groups, schools and running loc
Islamic centers. Their involvement is cri
cal to the emergence of a democratic, fu
damentally American Islam, Hadd
notes, where the faithful elect the leaders
mosques and Islamic centers.

Despite the trend within Islamic fu
damentalism to limit women's work
women's groups and schools, Americ
Muslim institutions are too fragile to wo
without women, according to Marcia He
manson, a San Diego state religion profe
sor. "There will always be more particip
tion by Muslim women here than in th
Middle East, because American Isla
needs the efforts of women."

Joan Wals

SAN FRANCISC

"Pacific News Servic

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